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A STUDY IN THE TENDENCIES OF
ASIATIC MENTALITY

BY

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Translator of *Sukra-sūtra* (Hindu Economics and Politics), and Author of

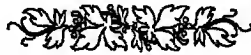
The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology,

The Folk Element in Hindu Culture, etc

with an Introduction by

WU TING-FANG, LL.D.

Late Chinese Minister to U S A , Spain, Peru, Mexico and Cuba



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By a Hindu Student of the institutions of
MEDIAEVAL ASIA

PREFACE

Neither historically nor philosophically does Asiatic mentality differ from the Eur-American. It is only after the brilliant successes of a fraction of mankind subsequent to the Industrial Revolution of the last century that, the alleged difference between the two mentalities has been first stated and since then grossly exaggerated. At the present day science is being vitiated by pseudo-scientific theories or fancies regarding race, religion, and culture. Such theories were unknown to the world down to the second or third decade of the 19th century.

Comparative Chronology and Comparative History will show that man, as an economic, political and fighting animal, has displayed the same strength and weakness both on the Asian theatre as well as on the extra-Asian.

Comparative Literature and Comparative Art will show that man, as "lover, lunatic and poet", has worked upon the same gamut of passions from Homer to Maeterlinck as from the Pharaonic *Book of the Dead* down to *Gitanjali*.

Comparative Philosophy and Comparative Metaphysics will show that man, as positivist and mystic, has attacked the "problems of the sphinx" in the selfsame way and with almost similar results under the guidance of intellectuals from Confucius to Swâmi Vivek-ânanda as from Socrates to Bergson.

It has been held generally that the Orient is statical, and that the dynamic doctrine of Change is essentially non-Oriental. Thus, the following verses of Tennyson—

"The old order changeth yielding place to new
And God fulfils himself in many ways
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world"
are supposed to embody exclusively the spirit of the Occident.

Let us, however, take a bit from the Mind of China, which is the proverbial representative of "the unchanging East," and which, besides, is known to be "sicklied-o'er by the pale cast of the Confucian tradition." Even the Great Sage himself was an advocate of the "new order." The second article in what may be regarded as the

Educational Creed of Confucius is thus worded by Mr. Ku Hung-Ming in his recent translation of the classic *Ta Hsueh**:

"The object of a Higher Education is to make a new and better society (lit. people)."

An old commentary explains what 'to make a new and better society' means. The following is Mr. Ku's translation of the explanation:

1. "The Inscription on the Emperor T'ang's bath says: 'Be a new man each day, from day to day be a new man, every day be a new man.'

2. The Commission of Investiture to Prince K'ang says: 'Create a new Society.'

3. The *Book of Songs* says: 'Although the Royal House of Chow was on old state, a new mission was given to it.' "

The nature of the relation between Order and Progress was also well known to the Hindu thinkers of the *Mahābhārata*-cycle. Their Messianic conception formulated in the *Gītā*-section (6th century B.C.—2nd century B.C.) of this literature is pre-eminently dynamic. The doctrine of *Yugāntara*, i.e. "transformation of the age-spirit" or "revolution in *Zeitgeist*," is recorded in the following announcement of Lord Krishna regarding the occasions of His advent into the world of man:

"Whensoever into Order
Corruption creeps in, Bhārata,
And customs bad ascendant be,
— Then Myself do I embody.
For the advancement of the good
And miscreants to overthrow
And for setting up the Order
Do I appear age by age."

The Hindu Messiah is Revolution, Progress and Optimism personified. His was the message of Change and Hope. The idea of "God fulfilling himself in many ways" is thus neither an Occidental patent nor a modern discovery.

* *Higher Education* (The Shanghai Mercury, Ltd., Shanghai, 1915). This is one of the four books in the Confucian Bible and has been called *The Great Learning* by Dr. Legge in his translation.

Comparative Anthropology and Comparative Psychology will show that man has everywhere and always been fundamentally a beast, and that beneath a superficial varnish of so-called culture "the ape and tiger" hold their majestic sway,—giving rise to superstitions, prejudices, *idolas* and *avidyās* under different guises and conventions. The brute-in-man is a fact,—the *datum*; but the god-in-man is only an idea,—the ideal *to be* realised.

Comparative Religion and Comparative Mythology will show that man in his desire to have "something afar from the sphere of our sorrow" has everywhere had recourse to the same *modus operandi* and has achieved the same grand failure which in his vanity he always chooses to call success. It would be found that, after all, divinity is but an invention of human imagination, in fact, the first postulate taken for granted. And on a broad view of *all* the forces that have inspired and governed *elan* and activity, some of which are miscalled religion, and some not, man has ever been essentially a pluralist and an idolist.

If anywhere there have been people professing a so-called monothéism in religion, a study of their daily life would indicate that they have been polytheists with vengeance in every other sphere—indulging in thousand and one varieties, social, economic and political. These varieties which take away the monotony of life and give a zest to it, do not, "pragmatically" speaking, differ in the last analysis from the varied rites and practices underlying a so-called polytheistic faith. What the polytheists call religion, the monotheists call culture. Life demands variety; culture, therefore, is varied. If you abstract a millionth part of this *kultur*, *e.g.*, the unverifiable hypothesis of man about God, and choose to call it religion, every race can be proved to be monotheistic. But if you take the total inspiration of a human being or the chart of the whole life that a people lives, mankind has ever been polytheistic.

If, again, anywhere there have been people who have repudiated idols in religion, a study of their heart and feelings, their daily habits, their literary and artistic tastes, would indicate that they are paying the debt to "old Adam" in the shape of hero-worship, souvenir-cult, love-fetishes, "pathetic fallacy," mementos, memorials,

relics, and what not. As formative principles of character, these "charms" are of the same genus as images erected in the temples by those who in their simplicity confess—"We do not understand, we love."

If there is superstition in the one form of pluralism and idolism there is equal superstition in the others. These are really "human, all too human." In fact, the greatest and most abiding of all superstitions in world's history has been the human demand for that ambiguous term Religion.

Superstition is nothing but *avidyâ* or *mâyâ*, i.e., ignorance, rendered perceptible. Emancipation from this has been the highest ideal of man. The prayer of the most ancient Hindu *Rishis* or "seers" was—

*A-sato mâ sad-gamaya,
Tamaso mâ jyotir-gamaya,
Mrityor mâ amritam-gamaya.*

From the non-existent (i.e. transitory, unreal)

me to the ever-existent (i.e. permanent, truth, or reality)
lead;

From darkness (i.e. ignorance)

me to light (i.e. knowledge) lead;

From death me to immortality lead.

This has been the prayer of mankind ever since. Knowledge is the only truth—the ever-existent reality—the light—immortality itself. Whether it be called religion or not, man has ever wanted this knowledge—*sat*, *jyoti*, *amritam*.

The modern world congratulates itself on the thought that the Bastille of ignorance was demolished with the Papal Doctrine of Infallibility. The flood of light that was being thrown on world-questions with the discovery of Sanskrit in the 18th century certainly heralded a new era. And the modern means of communication did really bring world-sense home to seekers of truth. Comparative philology, comparative mythology, and what Maxmuller hesitated to call comparative jurisprudence, were the first fruits,—the *Synthetic Philosophy* of Herbert Spencer, the *Philosophy of History* of Hegel, and Comte's *Positive Philosophy* were genuine attempts in the direction of *sat*, *jyoti* and *amritam*.

INTRODUCTION

We often have visitors coming to China from Europe and America on various missions ; some for scientific research ; some for economic investigation ; some for educational purpose, and others for art and general studies. It is the first time, if I am not mistaken, that a gentleman from India has come to China for such a purpose. Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar is now on a visit to China to study the religion, literature and social institutions of the people, and the result of his earnest and laborious research extending over several months is seen in the following pages. Whether the reader will follow him and agree with all his views expressed in this book it must be conceded that he has not hastily come to his conclusions without personal study. The mass of facts collected by him and his views expressed thereon should afford the students of Sociology and Comparative Religion much food for thought and deserve their impartial consideration.

“ What is the religion of your people? ” This question has often been put to us Chinese. If the answer “ Confucianism ” is given, it will be most likely retorted that Confucianism is not a religion, it being a set of morals only. Now let us see what is Religion. Webster defines it as “ the outward act or form by which men indicate their recognition of the existence of a god or gods having power over their destiny, to whom obedience, service, and honour are due. ” Then let us ascertain what Confucianism is. The doctrine of the founder is to teach the duty and relations of man, between the Sovereign and the subject, between the parent and the son, between elder and younger brothers, and between friends; the “ four books ” which practically constitute the canon of Confucian philosophy minutely describe the sayings and instructions of the great philosopher. His principal aim was to inculcate loyalty to the Chief of the State, filial piety to parents and sincerity amongst friends. It must be admitted that the result of his teaching has been on the whole eminently successful. That he did not expressly instruct his disciples

to worship God as enjoined by other religions cannot be denied; but his tenets, if observed, would lead men to become good, for they are in many instances along similar lines to the teachings given by other religions. Take, for instance, the excellent rule laid down by Confucius:—"What you do not want done to yourself do not do to others." This is the golden rule only in a negative form. Thus it will be seen that a real Confucianist is just as good a man as a sincere Christian.

It is sometimes alleged that Confucius was an atheist or a materialist; this accusation is not just considering that he believed in the existence of a Supreme God. In the "Classics" there are many passages which prove this. On one occasion when he was very sick, one of his disciples asked leave to pray for him, he answered that it was scarcely necessary because he had been praying for a long time. On another occasion he exhorted his disciples to shew respect to spiritual beings; then again he declared that to offer sacrifice to spirits indiscriminately is flattery. In ancient times, as it was customary in every nation, the people were superstitious and naturally religious. Confucius, being brought up under these surroundings, could not help being influenced by them, but he had the sagacity to warn his disciples that while respecting spiritual beings they should keep aloof from them. He considered his mission was to make men morally good and he did not consider it his duty to interfere with spiritual and theological subjects. It may be asked that if he really believed in the existence of the Supreme God to whom obedience, service, and honour are due, how is it that in all his lectures to his disciples he did not touch upon the subject of religious piety and service to God? The reason is not far to seek. He was a staunch conservative and an ardent admirer of antiquity. In his dialogues he is seen expounding his views upon the duty of not only shewing obedience to parents and to ruler but also reverence for antiquity and strict adherence to the traditional usages of ceremony. The direct worship of God was confined in the ancient religion, as it has always been, to the Sovereign as the parent and priest of the people, so it was not a subject that he as one of the "governed" should touch upon. His silence on this point should not be construed that he was an atheist or a materialist.

About the same time, or a little before there arose a great figure who was a contemporary of Confucius and who founded the religion of what is called "Taoism." The founder was Lao Tan and generally known as Lao Tszé, and the book left behind by him which was his own composition, is well known as *Tao Teh King*. It contains only five thousand words but it is fully of gems. This work contains in substance his views on philosophy and expresses fully his doctrine. The author, it must be remembered, was a mystic, he expresses his views in symbolical and paradoxical language. His diction is simple but enigmatic in style. It is extremely difficult even for an earnest student to grasp his real meaning. It is generally supposed that his doctrine is Inaction, but this is not actually the case. He did not advise men to remain inert and do nothing, what he did advise was to purify the mind and cultivate a clear conscience. Its gist is reason and virtue, in other words, he exhorted men to distinguish between the real and the unreal and to perceive things in their proper light. His mode of teaching is different to that of Confucius. He holds that nature provides an ample lesson for man to study and he takes for instance the vegetable kingdom as his ideal. He advocates introspection for the purpose of self-reformation. He was opposed to the way of Confucius who was constantly on the move from one state to another with the view of inducing the chiefs of the state to employ him or to adopt his principles. In an interview sought by Confucius who praised reverence for the sages of antiquity he did not scruple to speak out his mind: "Those whom you talk about are dead, and their bones are mouldered to dust; only their words remain. When the superior man gets his time, he mounts aloft; but when the time is against him, he moves as if his feet were entangled. I have heard that a good merchant though he has rich treasures deeply stored, appears as if he were poor, and that the superior man whose virtue is complete is yet outwardly seeming stupid. Put away your proud air and many desires, your insinuating habit and will. These are of no advantage to you. This is all which I have to tell you." His deep and abstruse theory even Confucius was unable to understand, for soon after the celebrated interview he addressed his disciples, saying: "I know how birds can fly, how fishes can swim, and how animals can run. But the runner may be snared, the swimmer

may be hocked, and the flier may be shot by the arrow. But there is the dragon. I cannot tell how he mounts on the wind through the clouds, and rises to heaven. To-day I have seen Lao Tsze, and can only compare him to the dragon." It is not strange that the deep doctrine of Lao Tsze has been misconstrued. The latitude allowed by the vagueness of his writings enabled and encouraged his disciples and adherents to graft upon the leading notions of his text, an entirely adventitious code of natural and physical philosophy which on the one hand expanded into a system of religious belief, and on the other became developed into a school of mysticism apparently founded upon the early secrets of healing and divination. Nevertheless, *Tao Teh King* is a marvellous and unique production of a Chinese philosopher who flourished twenty-six centuries ago. It has excited the admiration and appreciation of the oriental scholars who have studied his pages. Victor von Strauss says that it contains "a grasp of thought, a height of contemplation, and a purity of conception in the things of God such as we seek in vain anywhere in pre-Christian times except in the Jewish Scriptures." According to Dr. Paul Carnus, "Lao Tsze was one of the greatest men that ever trod our earth, one of the most remarkable thinkers of mankind. The *Tao Teh King* is an indispensable book and no one who is interested in religion can afford to leave it unread." No wonder Lao Tsze is greatly revered in China and his doctrine has been accepted by a large majority of the Chinese.

Numerous European translations of the *Tao Teh King* have been made from time to time by eminent Oriental scholars. They must have spent much valuable time and mental labour in poring over this terse and obscure work and great credit is due to all of them. But to understand the mystic author and not to misinterpret his meaning, it requires a mystic translator and the publication of another translation by Mr C. S. Medhurst who is well versed in mysticism is a welcome and valuable contribution.

There is another religion which must be mentioned although it is of foreign origin. Buddhism was imported to China in the year A.D. 61. It was done at the instance of the Emperor who had dreamt of a gigantic image of gold and had sent imperial messengers to India in

search of this new religion. It is said by some that it was known in China before that time. The first century of its arrival was marked by numerous translations of Buddhistic works into Chinese. Under such favourable auspices it attracted universal attention in China; the people were eager to learn its tenets and many became proselytes. It was said that in the fourth century nine-tenths of the inhabitants of China were Buddhists. It is not surprising that this later religion has made such wonderful rapid progress in China. The principles of its doctrine are so grand that no earnest student could help being captivated by it. The teaching is suited to the *literate* and the illiterate, and the law of Karma and the hope of eternal bliss are so beautiful that nearly all the women of China are believers. The observance of formal rites and other external practices are contrary to the spirit of the doctrine.

Coming back to the original question, "What is the religion of the Chinese?" the answer can be given in a few words. Confucianism is acknowledged by almost every Chinese to be his creed. He is, however, practical and broadminded enough not to be opposed to, but most friendly to, any other religion which he thinks can be of benefit to him. It is therefore taken for granted that Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism form a combination of his religion. Let us take the case of an ordinary Chinese family. When the head of the family dies, the funeral services are conducted in a most cosmopolitan way, for the Taoist priests and the Buddhist monks as well as nuns are usually called in to recite prayers for the dead in addition to the performance of ceremonies in conformity with the Confucian rules of propriety. The general idea is that there are several ways of ascending to Heaven or the place of happiness; and if the deceased should not succeed by the Confucian ladder, he can take either of the other two.

The long existence of ancient China as a nation has generally been attributed by Christians to its obedience to one of God's ten commandments which is "Honour thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long in the land." I believe, however, that is not the only cause. Toleration of religious beliefs and the embracing of three religions have done much to keep China coherent and

intact. This may appear to be paradoxical, but if I read the history of the world aright, a nation embracing one solitary religion, however excellent it might be, and prohibiting all others is not likely to exist permanently. The people of such a nation are naturally narrow-minded and bigoted, and believing that their religion is the best in the world, they are self-sufficient and intolerant, and will not condescend to hear or learn better religious truths. When the people are in such condition, their mental activity lies dormant and their minds are stagnant and instead of progressing they will degenerate, hence the downfall of the nation is natural.

It may be contended that the fact of a nation having a State Religion should induce its citizens to become more religious and orderly. This opens a big question which I do not wish to discuss at length. It may be conceded that a State Religion from some point of view may possess certain advantages; but if it is looked at in its larger aspect, it is open to grave doubt whether it works for the ultimate good of the nation. It confers special privileges such as eligibility for office; and people with no strict moral principles would not scruple to become members of the State Church for self-interest. It curbs freedom of thought and compels people to be subservient to the Church on religious matters, even against their better judgment.

It should be remembered that a religion cannot monopolize all the truth; at best it is like a spectrum presenting one side of it. The founder of every good religion promulgated certain portions of the truth to suit the conditions and habits of the people and it will be too presumptuous to assume that one religion contains whole truth. Truth is like light, men first used oil to light their houses and then they manufactured candles and used them. Recently gas was invented and we now have electric light. Should we still be contended with the light supplied by oil or candles and reject the brighter illumination furnished by gas or electricity? Light is open to all, so is truth. Truth cannot be exhausted; like a deep bottomless spring or well, the lower we go the more water we find. We cannot have enough of the truth, the more we investigate and discover, the better it is for mankind. The wise man will use the light he has to

receive more light. He will constantly advance to the knowledge of the truth.

China, as it is well known, has been exceedingly conservative, but with respect to religion she has not been stubborn and exclusive, she has not waged war on account of any religious faith, and so far as I can remember, she has not spilt a drop of blood on that account.

In addition to three religions above mentioned, Muhammadanism has a firm hold in China; and many millions of her inhabitants are its believers. Then again, Christianity is not only tolerated but openly preached everywhere and Christian missionaries are found in every province of China. Toleration of every creed is her policy and we welcome all messengers of good religions who preach the eternal truth. We hope the day will soon come when the believers and adherents of all religions and creeds not only in China but in all other nations of the world will live in peace and concord without malice or hatred.

With these few words on the Religion of the Chinese I have great pleasure in introducing this Hindu *Study in the Tendencies of Asiatic Mentality* to the students of Chinese civilisation.

Shanghai, }
Feb. 29, 1916. }

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CHINESE RELIGION

THROUGH

HINDU EYES

CHAPTER I.

The Hypothesis

Prof. Dickinson, one of the latest English travellers in India has declared in his *Appearances* that the Hindus are the most religious people in the world. And Prof. Giles commences his Hibbert Lectures published just a few months ago under the title, *Confucianism and its Rivals*, with the statement popularised by more sinologue than one that the Chinese are not and have never been a religious people. According to one observer the genius of the Hindu race is essentially metaphysical and non-secular; according to the other the Chinese are a highly practical nation without any other-worldly leanings. The people of India are said to cultivate exclusively the thoughts and feelings based on the conceptions of the Eternal, the Infinite and the Hereafter; whereas with the people of China "the value of morality has completely overshadowed any claims of belief; duty towards one's neighbour has mostly taken precedence of duty towards God."

And yet the whole literature of Europe relating to foreign countries from Pliny to Tavernier, nay, from Megasthenes to Clive, bears unmistakable evidence of the secular achievements and material progress, and of the delight in the

finite things of this world which the western travellers noticed among the people of Hindusthân. From their historic reports one knows really very little of the so-called transcendental and pessimistic beliefs which modern tourists seem to find in India. And as for the religious indifferentism of the Chinese and their tabooing of the unseen, the ideal and the supernatural, Giles' eight Lectures would bias the reader to a thoroughly contrary view ; for it seems to me, a novice in things Chinese, that the whole work of the veteran Professor is intended to be a refutation of the paragraph with which he begins his interesting survey. Leaving aside for the moment the Taoistic, Buddhistic and post-Buddhistic strands of religious belief in China, one cannot but be impressed, if one were to follow Giles, with the vast amount of influence that the Super-natural and the Unknown have exerted on ancient Chinese life as manifested in pre-Confucian and Confucian literature.

In his third lecture Giles is his own critic and establishes the falsity of the universally recognised opinion when he remarks: "Confucianism has often been stigmatised as a mere philosophy, inadequate to the spiritual needs of man : the last words, however, of the above quotation go far to show that the cultivation of rectitude is, according to Confucian teachings, broad based upon the will of God."

The quotation is from Mencius : "He who brings all his intellect to bear on the subject will come to understand his own nature; he who understands his own nature will understand God. To preserve one's intellect, and to nourish one's nature—that is how to serve God. To waste no thoughts upon length of life, but to cultivate rectitude—that is to do the will of God."

This evidence from the Confucian camp about Chinese godlore is, however, not at all extraordinary. Giles himself has furnished numerous instances which go to prove that the agnostic or positivistic apotheosis of the actual, the practical and the worldly is not the exclusive feature of religious life and thought in China, but only one of the aspects or expressions of Chinese mentality, of which too much has been made by scholars. Rather, as one beginning the A. B. C. of a new subject, I am tempted to add to the stock of superficial analogies and parallelisms obtaining in the world of letters, with the hypothesis—

(1) That the trend of religious evolution in India the so-called land of mystics and China known to be the land of non-religious human beings has been since pre-historic times more or less along the same lines;

(2) That the importation of Buddhism (A.D. 67) into the land of Confucius from the country of 'western barbarians' did not create the cultural and socio-religious affinity between the two peoples for the first time, but simply helped forward and accelerated the already existing notions and practices along channels and through institutions which have since then borne Indian names;

and (3) That post-Buddhistic life and thought in both countries have been almost identical, so far as religious ideas are concerned,—and this in spite of differences in name, e.g., Vaishnavism, Shaivism, Shâktaism, etc., in India, and neo-Confucianism, neo-Buddhism, neo-Taoism, etc., in China. And as the civilisation of Japan since the days of such pioneers as Shotoku Taishi and Kobo Daishi (7th-8th cent. A.D.) has been mainly an expansion of Indo-Chinese 'culture' at Nara, Horiyûji, Kamakura and

Kyoto centres, the religious beliefs, practices and customs are fundamentally the same in *Sangoku* (or the three worlds, viz., India, China and Japan). What pass for Buddhism to-day in the lands of Confucius and Shinto cult are but varieties of the same faith that is known as Tântic and Paurânic Hinduism in modern *Tienchu* (Heaven) or *Tenjiku*, the land of Sâkya the *Buddha*.

Every case of analogy or parallelism and identity or uniformity during this comparatively recent period need not, however, be traced to the cultural, commercial or political intercourse between the three peoples during the Tang-Sung era of the Middle Kingdom (7th-13th cent. A.D.), the Augustan age of Chinese culture. This was synchronous with the epoch of Imperialism and benevolent 'Cæsaro-Papism' under such monarchs as Harshavardhana of upper India, Dharmapâla of Bengal and Râjendrachola of the Deccan. The unity in notions and conventions may as well be due to the sameness of mental outfit and psychical organism and the consequent uniformity of responses to the stimuli presented by the facts and phenomena of the objective world.

This is specially to be borne in mind while noticing the identities in earlier epochs. Take, for example, the idea of the hare in the moon in the poem called "God-questions" by Chu Ping who lived between 332 and 295 B.C:

"What does the hare expect to get

By sitting gazing in the body of the moon?"

Now in Sanskrit language some of the terms by which the moon is known imply the 'orb with the hare.' The Hindu idea is also very old; but probably, as Dr. Hirth suggests, the same notion has existed in the two countries

prior to any intercourse between them. The researches of Sinologues and Indologists have not yet brought forth any positive proofs relating to Indo-Chinese relations before 3rd or 2nd century B.C.. So that identities or similarities in the cultural traits of the two peoples up till a century or two after Confucius and Sâkya have to be explained by other circumstances than facts of history, *e.g.*, the common psychological basis endowing the two races with the same outlook on the universe.

Mr. Ragozin in his *Vedic India* remarks about the impossibility of studying the ancient Hindus without reference to their western neighbours, the Iranians of Persia: "These two Asiatic branches of the Aryan race being so closely connected in their beginnings, the sap coursing through both being so evidently the same life-blood, that a study of the one necessarily involves a parallel study of the other." This cannot certainly be said with regard to the relations between ancient China and Hindusthân. And yet Indo-Iranian race-consciousness and Chinese race-consciousness seem to have been cast in the same mould.

CHAPTER II.

The Cult of World-Forces in Pre-Confucian China and Pre-Sâkryan India

(—B.C. 700)

(a) *Yajna* (SACRIFICE)

“Sacrificial service,” says Prof. Hirth, “we may conclude from all we read in the *Shu-King* and other accounts relating to the Shang Dynasty, was the leading feature in the spiritual life of the Chinese, whether devoted to Shângti or God, or to what we may call the minor deities as being subordinate to the Supreme Ruler or to the spirits of their ancestors. That minuteness of detail which up to the present day governs the entire religious and social life of the Chinese gentleman, the more so the higher he is in the social, and most of all in the case of the emperor himself, had clearly commenced to affect public and private life long before the ascendancy of the Chou Dynasty (12th cent. B.C.), under which rule it reached its highest development to serve as a pattern to future generations. The vessels preserved as living witnesses of that quasi-religious relation between man and the unseen powers supposed to influence his life are full of symbolic ornament.”

Religious ceremonies are not described in detail in the Chinese Classics, but we can have an adequate idea from the incidental references in the *Book of History* (*Shu-King*) and *She-King* or *Book of Poetry*. Dr. Legge gives the following description which is “as much that of a feast as of a sacrifice.” The “ceremonies at the sacrifices” “were preceded by fasting and various purifications on the part of the king

and the parties who were to assist in the performance of them. There was a great concourse of feudal princes. * * * Libations of fragrant spirits were made to attract the spirits, and their presence was invoked by a functionary who took his place inside the principal gate. The principal victim, a red bull, was killed by the king himself. * * * Other victims were numerous, and II. vi. v describes all engaged in the service as greatly exhausted with what they had to do, flaying the carcasses, boiling the flesh, roasting it, broiling it, arranging it on trays and stands, and setting it forth. Ladies from the harem are present, presiding and assisting, music peals: the cup goes round."

Pictures of such 'family re-unions where the dead and living met, eating and drinking together, where the living worshipped the dead, and the dead blessed the living' are constantly to be met with throughout Vedic Literature. For sacrifice or *Yajna* is the pivotal factor in Vedic Religion. This is noticed by Mr. Ragozin also, who remarks on "the immense extent of the subject, and its immense import not merely in the actual life, outer and inner, but in the evolution of the religious and philosophical thought of one of the world's greatest races." "The regular recurrence of the beneficent phenomena of nature—rain and light, the alternation of night and day, the coming of the dawn and the sun, of the moon and the stars"—all these came through the efficacy of sacrifice and prayer.

"The following hymn to Agni the Fire-god translated by Griffith from the first Book of the *Rig Veda* would give an idea of the initial sacrificial rite, as well as the social and material well-being expected of the whole ceremony:

"Mighty Agni, we invite,
Him that perfecteth the rite;

O thou Messenger divine,
Agni ! boundless wealth is thine.

* * *

Thou to whom the wood gives birth,
Thou that callest gods to earth !
Call them that we may adore them,
Sacred grass is ready for them.

Messenger of gods art thou—
Call them, Agni ! call them now !
Fain our offerings would they taste,
Agni, bid them come in haste.

Brilliant Agni ! lo, to thee
Pour we offerings of ghee;
O for this consume our foes
Who on demons' aid repose !

Praise him in the sacrifice,
Agni ever young and wise ;
Glorious in his light is he,
Healer of all malady.

* * *

Agni ! let the guerdon be
Riches, good and progeny !''

'The music, dance, picnic, etc., attendant on Indian sacrifices have been described in my forthcoming work, *The Folk-Element in Hindu Culture*, under the chapter 'Socialisation and Secularisation of Hindu life.'

The Vedic Sacrifice is thus described by Ragozin (*Rig Veda*, I. 162): "When they lead by the bridle the richly adorned courser, the omniform goat is led, bleating,

before him. * * * Pushan's allotted share; he will be welcomed by all the gods. Tvashtar will conduct him to high honours. When men lead the horse, according to custom, three times around (the place of sacrifice), the goat goes before (and is killed first) to announce the sacrifice to the gods. The priest, the assistant, the carver (who is to divide the carcass), he who lights the fire, he who works the pressing stones, and the inspired singer of hymns—will all fill their bellies with the flesh of this well-prepared offering. Those who fashion the post (to which the victim is to be bound), and those who bring it, and those who fashion the knob on top of it, and those who bring together the cooking vessels—may their friendly help also not be wanting. The sleek courser is now proceeding—my prayer goes with him—to the abodes of the gods, followed by the joyful songs of the priests; this banquet makes him one with the gods.’’

It would thus appear that the *Rishis* of Vedic India could without the least difficulty incorporate the following verse from the *She-King* (Part IV. Book II. iv.) with their traditional lore :—

In autumn comes th' autumnal rite,
 With bulls, whose horns in summer bright
 Were capped with care ;—one of them white
 For the great duke of Chow designed ;
 One red, for all our princes shrined.
 And see ! they set the goblet full,
 In figure fashion'd like a bull ;
 The dishes of bamboo and wood ;
 Sliced meat, roast pig, and pottage good ;
 And the large stand. Below the hall
 There wheel and move the dancers all.

O filial prince, your Sires will bless,
 And grant you glorious success.
 Long life and goodness they will bestow
 On you to hold the state of Loo,
 And all the eastern land secure,
 Like moon complete, like mountain sure,
 No earthquake's shock, no flood's wild rage
 Shall ever disturb your happy age.

In fact, all the thanksgiving verses in connection with husbandry and harvests as well as the whole Part IV of the *She-King* entitled *Odes of the Temple and the Altar* might be easily interpolated in his collection by *Veda Vyâsa*, the compiler of the Vedic texts.

Mr. Giles refers to the custom of human sacrifice obtaining among the Chinese and also the conditions under which it fell into desuetude. The *Satapatha Brâhmana* of the Vedists furnishes evidence from the Indian side :

"The gods at first took man as victim. Then the sacrificial virtue (*medha*) left him and went into the horse. They took the horse, but the *medha* went out of him also and into the steer. Soon it went from the steer into the sheep, from the sheep into the goat, from the goat into the earth. Then they dug the earth up, seeking for the *medha* and found it in rice and barley. Therefore as much virtue as there was in all those five animals, so much there now is in this sacrificial cake (*havi's* made of rice and barley) i.e., for him who knows this. The ground grains answer to the hair, the water (with which the meal is mixed) to the skin, the mixing and stirring to the flesh, the hardened cake (in the baking) to the bones, the *ghæe* with which it is anointed to the marrow. So the five component parts of the animal are contained in the *havi's*."

(b) *Pitris* (ANCESTORS)

In the Prolegomena to Dr. Legge's translation of *She-king* or the Book of Poetry we read :

"A belief in the continued existence of the dead in a spirit-state and in the duty of their descendants to maintain religious worship a connection with them, have been characteristics of the Chinese people from their first appearance in history. The first and third Books of the last part of the *She* profess to consist of sacrificial odes used in the temple-services of the kings of Chow and Shang. Some of them are songs of praise and thanksgiving; some are songs of supplication; and others relate to the circumstances of the service, describing the occasion of it, or the parties present and engaging in it. The ancestors worshipped are invited to come and accept the homage and offerings presented."

The following is a picture of Chinese Shintoism or ancestor-worship ("She-King" Part IV. Book I Section i. 7):

The helping princes stand around,
 With reverent air, in concord fine.
 The King, Heaven's son, with looks profound,
 Thus prays before his fathers' shrine;—
 "This noble bull I bring to thee,
 And these assist me in the rite.
 Father, august and great, on me,
 Thy filial son, pour down the light!
 All-sagely didst thou play the man,
 Alike in peace and war a King.
 Heaven rested in thee, O great Wan,
 Who to thy sons still good dost bring.

The eye-brows of long life to me,
 Great source of comfort, thou hast given.
 Thou mak'st me great, for 'tis through these
 Come all the other gifts of Heaven.
 O thou my mysterious sire,
 And thou in whose fond breast I lay,
 With power and grace your son inspire
 His reverent sacrifice to pay ! ''

The *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, the earliest records of Japanese Literature (7th-8th centuries A.D.) are the principal store-houses of information regarding the primitive *Kami*-myths. These contain Ancestor-cult supposed to be the original faith of the people in the Land of the Rising Sun.

Now if ancestor-worship be the characteristic feature of the 'sons of Han' and the people of the Yamato race, the Vedic Indians and even the present day Hindus are akin to the Chinese as well as the Japanese. Indian Shintoism is embodied in the following hymn to the *Pitris* or Fathers (domestic, tribal as well as racial) which has a place in the *Rig-Veda* (X. 15):

1. Let the Fathers arise, the upper, the lower and the middle, the offerers of Soma, they the kindly ones, versed in sacrificial lore, who have entered spirit life—let them be gracious to our invocation.
2. We will pay reverence to-day to the Fathers who departed in early times, and to those who followed later, to those who reside in the earth's aerial place and those that are with the races of the beautiful dwellings. * * *
3. Ye Fathers, who sit on the sacrificial grass, come to us with help; these oblations we have prepared for

you: partake of them; bring us health and blessings unmixed.

* * *

8. May Yama, rejoicing with our ancient Father, the best, the gracious, who have come to our Soma-oblations, drink his fill, eager, with the eager Vasis-thas.

* * *

10. Come, O Agni, with the thousands of ancient and later Fathers, eaters and drinkers of oblations, who are reunited with Indra and the gods, who praise the gods in light.

In Vedic parlance the *pitris* or ancestors are not only the deified heroes, *Rishis* or 'inspired prophets' and eponymous culture-pioneers as we have in Homeric epics, Celtic legends and Scandinavian sagas, but often have the same rank as the elemental forces of the universe and the gods themselves. Ancestor-cult of the ancient and modern Hindus is essentially a branch of their god-lore, in fact, an aspect of their all-inclusive Nature-cult.

(c) *Sanctanism* (ETERNAL ORDER)

Taoism is defined by Prof. De Groot in his *Religion in China* as the system whose "starting point is the *Tao*, which means the Road or Way, that is to say, the Road or way in which the Universe moves, its methods and its processes, its conduct and operation, the complex of phenomena regularly occurring in it, in short, the order of the World, Nature or Natural Order. It actually is in the main the annual rotation of the seasons producing the process of growth or renovation and decay; it may accordingly be called Time, the creator and destroyer."

The idea underlying this system of Tao is exactly what the Hindus are familiar with in the conception of *Sanātana Dharma*, which, by the bye, is the term by which the people of India designate their own religion, the term *Hinduism* being an expression given by outsiders. *Sanātana* means Eternal, Immutable, Changeless, and hence Universal. And the *Dharma* i.e. law, order or religion that is described by this expression points out the permanent realities or eternal verities of the universe, the truths which "having been must ever be," the ever-abiding laws that govern the world and its movements. *Sanātanism* is thus the Indian cult of the *Tao*.

In the *Rig Veda* these immutable laws are in the custody of the god Varuna, and constitute the *Rita*—"originally the Cosmic Order." *Rita*, to quote Ragozin's *Vedic India*, "regulates the motions of the sun and moon and stars, the alternations of day and night, of the seasons, the gathering of the waters in clouds and their downpour in rain; in short, the order that evolves harmony out of chaos."

This conception of the *Rita* or Eternal Law carries with it a moral and spiritual significance too. "*Rita* is holy, is one, is the right path, the Right itself, the Absolute Good. * * * There is a moral *Rita* as there is a material one, or rather the same *Rita* rules both worlds. What Law is in the physical, that Truth, Right is in the spiritual order, and both are *Rita*." The Chinese follower of *Rita* or *Sanātana* Tao thinks exactly like his Hindu fellowman. "Should his act disagree with that almighty Tao, a conflict must necessarily ensue, in which he as the immensely weaker party must inevitably succumb. Such meditations have led him into the path of philosophy—to the study and discovery of the characteristics of the Tao, of the means of acquiring these for himself and

of framing his conduct upon them." According to the Chinese system there is an attempt "to attract Nature's beneficial influences to the people and the government and to avert its detrimental influences." Likewise, the Vedic Hindu, when oppressed with the consciousness of wrong doing, and of sin, cried out for pardon and mercy to Varuna the Superintendent of the Tao.

(d) *Ekam* (THE ONE SUPREME BRING)

According to Hirth, "from records of *Shu-King* we are bound to admit that the ancient Chinese were decided monotheists. *Shüingti*, the Supreme Ruler, received as much veneration at the hands of his people as did God, under any name, from any contemporaneous nation." And we have the following from Dr. Legge's prolegomena to his translation of *Shu-King*: "The name by which God was designated was the 'Ruler,' the 'Supreme Ruler,' denoting emphatically his personality, supremacy and unity. By God kings were supposed to reign, and princes were required to decree justice. * * * Obedience is sure to receive His blessing; disobedience to be visited with His curse. * * * When they are doing wrong, God admonishes them by judgments, storms, famine and other calamities."

The ode vi. of Book I. Part II. in the *She-King* embodies the prayer and desire of the officers and guests at the end of an entertainment given by the King. The Chinese notion of the relation of God with human beings is very clearly set forth in the following lines :

Heaven shields and sets thee fast.

It round thee fair has cast

Thy virtue pure.

Thus richest joy is thine :—

Increase of corn and wine,

And every gift divine,
 Abundant, sure.
 Heaven shields and sets thee fast.
 From it thou goodness hast ;
 Right are thy ways.
 Its choicest gifts 'twill pour,
 That last for evermore,
 Nor time exhaust the store
 Through endless days.
 Heaven shields and sets thee fast,
 Makes thine endeavour last,
 And prosper well.
 Like hills and mountains high,
 Whose masses touch the sky ;
 Like stream aye surging by,
 Thine increase swell !
 With rite and auspice fair,
 Thine offerings thou dost bear,
 And son-like give,
 The seasons round from spring,
 To olden duke and King,
 Whose words to thee we bring :—
 “ For ever live.”

The following also is very interesting (*She*, Part IV. Book I, iii. 3) as describing the relation of man with God :

With reverence I will go
 Where duty's path is plain.
 Heaven's will I clearly know ;
 Its favour to retain
 Is hard. Let me not say
 Heaven is remote on high,

Nor notices men's way,
 There in the starlit sky
 It round about us moves
 Inspecting all we do,
 And daily disapproves
 What is not just and true.

The angry mood of Heaven is expressed in the following verses (*She-king* Part III, ii. 10):

“Reversed is now the providence of God;—
 The lower people groan beneath their load,
 The words you speak,—how far from right are they!”
 also in II. iv. 7:

With pestilence and death, Heaven aids disorder's
 sway;

* * *

O cruel heaven, that he such woes on all should bring.

* * *

O great unpitying Heaven, our troubles have no close.
 further in II. iv. 10:

O vast and mighty heaven, why shrinks thy love?
 Thy kindness erst so great, no more we prove.
 Sent from above by thine afflicting hand,
 Famine and death now stalk through the land.
 O pitying Heaven, in terrors now arrayed,
 No care, no forethought in thy course displayed,
 Of criminals I do not think;—they bear
 The suffering which their deeds of guilt prepare.
 But there are many innocent of crime,
 O'erwhelmed by ruin in this evil time!

The Vedic *Rishi* likewise cries unto Varuna, the god of gods:

Let me not yet, O Varuna, enter into the house of clay. Have mercy, almighty, have mercy!—If I go along, trembling like a cloud driven by the wind, have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Through want of strength, thou pure one, have I gone astray: have mercy, almighty, have mercy.*** Whenever we, being but men, O Varuna, commit an offence before the heavenly host, whenever we break thy law through thoughtlessness, have mercy, almighty, have mercy. (*Rig Veda* VII. 89).

The following, also quoted from Ragozin's *Vedic India*, illustrates the same attitude:

However we may transgress thy law, day by day, after the manner of men, O Varuna, do not deliver us unto death, nor to the blow of the furious, nor to the wrath of the spiteful (I. 25). * * Take from me my own misdeeds, nor let me pay, O King, for others' guilt (II. 28).

The attributes of the Chinese *Shâng-ti* and Hindu *Varuna* are thus identical.

"Varuna was the dispenser of both light and darkness; when displeased with mortal man, he turned his face from him, and it was night. * * Disease was another of Varuna's fetters, and lastly death."

The conception of the Chinese *Shâng-ti* as Supreme Ruler is found in the following song of the Vedic *Rishi* (*Rig Veda* V. 85):

"Sing a hymn, pleasing to Varuna the King—to him who spread out the earth as a butcher lays out a steer's hide in the sun—He sent cool breezes through the woods, put mettle in the steed (the Sun), milk in the kine (clouds),

wisdom in the heart, fire in the waters (lightning in the clouds), placed the sun in the heavens, the Soma in the mountains. He upset the cloud-barrels and let its waters flow on Heaven, Air and Earth, wetting the ground and the crops. He wets both Earth and Heaven, and soon as he wishes for these kine's milk, the mountains are wrapt in thunder-clouds and the strongest walkers are tired."

In *Rig* IV. 42 the Rishi makes Varuna declare his suzerainty to a fellow-god Indra:

"I am the king; mine is the lordship. All the gods are subject to me, the universal life-giver, and follow Varuna's ordinances. I rule in men's highest sanctuary.—I am king Varuna; my own are these primeval heavenly powers. * * * I, O Indra, am Varuna, and mine are the two wide deep blessed worlds. A wise maker, I created all the beings; Heaven and Earth are by me preserved.—I made the flowing waters to swell; I established in their sacred seat the heavens; I, the holy Aditya, spread out the tripartite Universe (Heaven, Earth and Atmosphere)."

The Hindu hymn (X. 121) which defines the notion of the One Creator of All is being reproduced below :

"In the beginning there arose the Golden Child. He was the one born lord of all that is. He established the earth and this sky: who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice ?

He who gives breath (*i.e.* life), He who gives strength; whose command all the gods revere; whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death. * * *

He who through his greatness is the one king of the breathing and awakening world; He who governs man and beast. * * *

He whose greatness the Himavat, the Samudra, the Rasa proclaim; He whose these regions are, as it were, his two arms. * * *

He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm; He through whom the Heaven was established,—nay the highest heaven; He who measured out the ærial space.

* * *

May He not harm us, the Creator of this earth; who, ruling by fixed ordinances, created the heaven; who also created the bright and mighty water.”

The following passage from Macnicol's *Indian Theism* describes the attributes of the Vedic *Shang-ti*: “He sitteth on his throne in the highest heaven and beholds the children of men; his thousand spies go forth to the world's end and bring report of men's doings. For with all those other tokens of preeminence he is specially a moral sovereign, and in his presence more than in that of any other Vedic god a sense of guilt awakens in his servants' hearts. His eyes behold and see the righteous and the wicked. The great guardian among the god sees as if from anear. * * * If two sit together and scheme, King Varuna is there as the third and knows it. * * * Whoso should flee beyond the heavens far away would yet not be free from King Varuna.”

The student of Chinese Classics would find in this extract reminiscences from the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of History*.

(e) PLURALISM IN GOD-LORE

The Chinese believed in the One Supreme Being, but they believed in His colleagues and assistants as well. Their

universe of Gods and Higher Intelligences was a pluralistic one.

The following extract is quoted from *North-China Daily News* by Mr. Werner for his *Chinese Sociology* compiled upon the plan organised by Herbert Spencer: "The Chinese have the most profound belief in the existence of fairies. In their imagination, the hills and the mountains which are supposed to be the favourite resorts of these mysterious beings are all peopled with them, and from these they descend into the plains and * * * carry out their benevolent purpose in aiding the distressed and the forlorn."

According to Giles in *Historic China* "the first objects of religious veneration among the ancient Chinese were undoubtedly Heaven and Earth; they are the two greatest of the three great powers of Nature, and the progenitors of the third, which is Man."

We read the following in Legge's Prolegomena to his *She-King*: "While the ancient Chinese thus believed in God, and thus conceived of Him, they believed in other spirits under Him, some presiding over hills and rivers, and others dwelling in the heavenly bodies. In fact, there was no object to which a tutelary spirit might not at times be ascribed and no place where the approaches of spiritual beings might not be expected and ought not to be provided for by the careful keeping of the heart and ordering of the conduct. * * * King Woo is celebrated as having attracted and given repose to all Spiritual Beings, even to the spirit of the Ho and the highest mountains. Complaints are made against the host of heaven—the Milky Way, etc.,—as responsible for the sufferings caused by misgovernment and oppression. Mention is made * * * of the demon of drought; and we find sacrifices offered to the spirits of the

ground and of the four quarters of the sky, to the Father of husbandry, the Father of war, and the Spirit of the path.''

The worship of Agni, the Fire-god, for which the Vedic hymn has been quoted above, has also been very old in China. We get the following in Lacouperie's *Western Origin* (P.161); "Fire was looked upon since early times among the Chinese as a great purifier, and large state fires were kindled at the beginning of each season, to ward off the evil influences of the incoming period. Special wood-fuel was selected with that object. The management of these fires was in the hands of a Director of Fire. The first appointment of this kind dates from the reign of Ti Kuh Kao Sin (2160-2085 B.C.).

The worship of stars also was not unknown. And "each district even had its protecting Spirit, and the Spirit of the ground was invoked at the solemnity which opened and terminated the agricultural labours of the year." Says Prof. Giles: "Natural phenomena * * * have at all times entered very largely into the religious beliefs of the Chinese, and may be said to do so even at the present day when gongs and cymbals are still beaten to prevent a great dog from swallowing the Sun or Moon at eclipse time."

This Chinese mentality as expressed in the pluralistic worship manifested itself equally if not more powerfully in the thousand and one "Nature-myths" of Vedic Literature. The following is the river-hymn of the *Rig Veda* (X. 75):

"O ye Gangâ, Yamunâ, Saraswati, Satadru, and Parusni, receive ye my prayers! O ye Marutbridhâ, joined by the Asikni, Vitastâ and Arjikiyâ joined by the Susoma, hear ye my prayers!"

Mr. Griffith translates the Vedic Hymn to Morning thus :

Morning! Child of heaven, appear!
 Dawn with wealth our hearts to cheer ;
 Thou that spreadest out the light
 Dawn with food, and glad our sight ;
 Gracious goddess, hear our words,
 Dawn with increase of our herds !

* * *

Morning! Answer graciously !
 Boundless wealth we crave of thee.

* * *

All that live adore her light—
 Pray to see the joyful sight ;

* * *

Morning! Shine with joyful ray!
 Drive the darkness far away—
 Bring us blessings every day.

The French Vedic scholar Benaigne gives the following account of the god Pushan, “pre-eminently a friend of men and whose career is one of almost homely usefulness”:

“Pushan is, first of all, a pastoral and agricultural deity. He is reputed to direct the furrow; his hand is armed with the ox-goad; he is principally the guardian of cattle, who prevents them from straying, and finds them again when they get lost. He is, therefore, prayed to follow the cows, to look after them, to keep them from harm and to bring them home safe and sound. His care extends to all sorts of property, which he guards or finds again when lost. He is also the finder of hidden treasure—cows first on the list always. Lastly, Pushan guides men, not only in their search for lost or hidden things, but on all their ways generally. In a word

he is the god of wayfarers as well as of husbandmen and herdsmen. He is called the Lord of the Path, he is prayed to 'lay out the road,' to remove from them foes and hindrances, to guide his worshippers by the safest roads, as knowing all the abodes."

Pushan is thus the Chinese "God of the road, invoked for safe journeys" mentioned by Giles.

The following hymn to Parjanya (*Rig Veda*, V. 83) illustrates the same tendency to have a god for, and deify, everything:

"Sing unto the strong with these songs, laud Parjanya, with praise worship him. Loud bellows the Bull; he lays down the seed and fruit in the herbs.

He cleaves the trees asunder, he slays the Râkshasas; all living creatures fear the wearer of the mighty bolt. Even the sinless trembles before him, the giver of rain, for Parjanya, thundering, slays the evil-doers.

As a driver who urges his horses with his whip, he makes the rainy messengers appear. From far arises the roar of the lion when Parjanya makes the cloud full of rain.

The winds rage, the lightnings shoot through the air, the herbs sprout forth from the ground, the heavens overflow, refreshment is borne to all creatures, when Parjanya blesses the earth with rain. * * * ."

Hymns like these are the spontaneous outcome of a religious consciousness which is exhibited materially in sacrifices and prayers for rain, good harvests, health and general well-being; and these constituted a great part of the socio-religious life of both Celestials and Hindus.

(I) FOLK-RELIGION

The pluralistic universe of the Chinese gods includes not only the *Shêngti*, Heaven, Earth, "the six honoured ones," the stars, ancestors, spirits, hills and rivers, etc., but is wide enough to embrace almost anything. Thus animals, reptiles, birds, fishes, insects and plants were regarded as abodes of spirits and were worshipped. Mr. Werner gives the following bibliography: "On Zo-anthropy generally see De Groot iv. 156-63, and on the different classes of animals (were-tigers, wolves, dogs, foxes, bears, stags, monkeys, rats, horses, donkeys, cows, bucks, swine, etc.) pp. 163-212. On were-reptiles ("tortoise worship may be said to have a somewhat extensive literature of its own, and dates back as far as 2900 B.C."—Balfour, *Leaves from my Chinese Scrap-book* 151-2), birds, fishes and insects, De Groot iv. 212-43, on plant-spirits pp. 272-324, on Dendrology and Sorcery vol. v., and on the war against spectres vol. vi."

Miss Simcox remarks that the "Chinese rendered quasi-divine honours to cats and tigers because they devoured the rats, mice and boars of the fields," and they "offered also to the ancient inventors of dykes and water-channels; (all these were) provisions for husbandry."

The demonocracy, witchcraft, incantations, charms, amulets, sorcery, divination by tortoise-shell or stalks of the plant, shamanism, fetichism, totemism, exorcism, and sentiments regarding eclipses, droughts, famines, floods, locusts, diseases, earthquakes, etc., mentioned by every observer of ancient Chinese socio-religious life have their parallels or duplicates in Vedic texts as well. The desire to enjoy the good things of this earth and ward off the hydra-headed evil inspired the people of India as well as of China to have recourse to the same rites and practices. One has only to go

through the table of contents and index of such a work as the Englished *Atharva Veda* (in Harvard Series) to be convinced of the common mentality and attitude towards Nature, Man and God, that characterised the two races in spite of their divergence in physiognomy and language, and the absence of intercourse during the period under review. As far as I am aware, students of Comparative Philology and Somatology or Physical Anthropology have not yet been able to trace any connexion between these two peoples. Nor have Archaeologists been successful in proving beyond doubt the existence of intercourse between them prior to 2nd or 3rd century B.C. But I venture to think that the data of Psycho-Social or Cultural Anthropology are copious and varied enough to attract sinologues to the study of Indology as a subsidiary branch of their special subject.

In this connexion may be quoted the following remarks of Dr. Wilhelm in his paper '*On the sources of Chinese Taoism*'—in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIV :

"The suggestion lies near that Taoism and pre-Buddhist Brahmanism may have something in common. It seems that many Brahmanic gods have found their way into Taoism even more easily than into Buddhism. Even the central notions of Taoism, *Tao* and *Te*, have an analogue in Brahma and Atman. So we venture the suggestion that the affinity of Buddhism and Taoism may have for its reason certain Brahmanic influences on Taoism."

"Taoism was not founded by Lao-Tzu, neither was Confucianism founded by Confucius. Both of them have their footing on Chinese antiquity. From that antiquity the foundations of the religious life of China have come down. * * The religious teachings common to early Taoism and

Confucianism can be traced in the scriptures of the *literati* as well as in the Taoist works;"—as well as, it may be added, in the earliest Hindu texts.

Even in *Rig Veda* we have the following hymn to a herb which would be quite intelligible to the Chinese mind :

"Hundred-fold are your ways, thousand-fold your growth, endowed with hundred various powers; make me this sick man well. * * * Give me victory as to a prize-winning mare. * * For I must have cattle, horses and clothes. * * * You will be worth much to me if you make my sick man well. * * * When I, O ye simples, grasp you sternly in my hands, sickness flees away, as a criminal who fears the grip of the law. * * * Flee then, sickness, flee away—with magpies and with hawks; flee on the pinions of the winds, nay of the whirlwinds."

In *Rig* X. 145, we read also of a woman, who digs up a plant of which to make a love potion and succeeds in getting rid of her rival in her husband's affections.

The Chinese conception of the Dragon, the serpent which typifies immortality and the Infinite and has its abode in the sky or cloudland is also very old in India. Thus Indra the Vedic thunder-god is celebrated as the fighter of *Ahi* the cloud-serpent. Hirth quotes an article by Prof. Chavannes in the *Journal Asiatique* (1896, P. 533) in which we read: "The dragon itself could well be related to the Nâgas of India."

The following is the hymn sung by Visvâmitra for the increase of barley (*Atharva Veda*—Harvard, P. 387):

1. Rise up, become abundant with thine own greatness, O barley, and ruin all receptacles, let not the bolt from heaven smite thee.

2. Where we appeal unto thee, the divine barley that listens, there rise up like the sky; be unexhausted like the ocean.
3. . Unexhausted be thine attendants, unexhausted thy heaps, thy bestowers be unexhausted; thy eaters be unexhausted.

In the *Ātharva Veda* we read of the amulet of *udumvara* (*Ficus glomerata*) plant as conferring various blessings :

“Rich in manure, rich in fruit, *svadhû* and cheer in our house—prosperity let Dhâtâr assign to me through the keenness of the amulet of *udumvara*. * * * I have seized all the prosperity of cattle, of quadrupeds, of bipeds, and what grain (there is); the milk of cattle, the sap of herbs, may Brihaspati, may Savitar confirm to me. * * * As in the beginning, Thou, O forest-tree, wast born together with prosperity, so let Saraswati assign to me fatness of riches.”

Again, “Since thou, O off-wiper, hast grown with reverted fruit, mayest thou repel from me all curses very far from here.”

In the *Ātharva Veda* X. 10 we have an extollation of the cow and in IX. 7 of the ox. The following is a specimen :

“The draft-ox sustains earth and sky; the draft-ox sustains the wide atmosphere; the draft-ox sustains the six wide directions; the draft-ox hath entered into all existence * * * With his feet treading down debility, with his thighs extracting refreshing drink—with weariness go the draft-ox and the plowman unto sweet drink.”

About the goat we read :

"With milk, with ghee, I anoint the goat, the heavenly eagle, milky great ; by it may we go to the world of the well-done, ascending the heaven, unto the highest firmament."

Like plant-amulets we have also jewel-amulets in Vedic literature. The following is from Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index* Vol. II: "Mani is the name in the Rig Veda and later of a jewel used as an amulet against all kinds of evil." And we have the following testimony from the *Atharva Veda* in Harvard Series: "The bit of Hindu folklore about the origin of pearls by the transformation of rain drops falling into the sea * * * is at least ten centuries old. Born in the sky, ocean-born, brought hither out of the river, this gold-born shell is for us a life-prolonging amulet." Amulets of gold, lead, and of three metals are also mentioned in *Atharva Veda*.

(g) IDEALISM AS A PHASE OF SPIRITUALITY.

The forefathers of the Chinese and the Hindus were not without their intellectuals who tried to probe the mysteries of the universe. The results of their metaphysical investigation, though not quite systematised on a regular plan, we have in such works as the Heraclitean *Yi-King* (Book of Changes), the Taoist legends and *Upanishadic* lore. Neither the Chinese classics nor the Vedic texts are complete without these speculative discourses. To look upon these as separate from the classics is to misunderstand the earliest encyclopædias of the two peoples.

The *Book of Changes*, the most difficult of Chinese classics, is probably also the oldest work. As for Taoist doctrines, though they get methodised in a presentable shape about the 6th cent. B.C. or later, there is no doubt that they

have been coeval with Chinese civilisation as floating literature. And the *Upanishads* which embody Hindu Taoism have existed ever since the *Rigs* have been recited and the *Sāmas* chanted at the sacrificial ceremonies. They are integral parts of the Vedas according to Indian tradition. Thus *pari passu* with the development of the ancestor-cult, *Shingti*-cult, demonology, etc., we notice the dualistic conception of the *Yang* and *Yin*, *Purusha* and *Prakriti*, heaven and earth, male and female, as well as the monistic pantheism and mysticism of the unconditioned, absolute and transcendent Reality. The parallelism between Chinese and Hindu religious consciousnesses up till about 8th-7th century B.C. is as great in ritualism and naturalism as in idealism and supernaturalism.

We notice this parallelism pervading every side of the spiritual life of the two peoples. Thus even before there was any intercourse between them we get pictures of asceticism, *Yoga*, retirement from life etc., in both China and India. De Groot begins his chapter on 'Holiness by means of asceticism and retirement' thus: "A study of the text, which I have quoted in the two preceding chapters from the ancient classics and the writings of the early patriarchs of Taoism, necessarily leads us to the conclusion that there has prevailed, in the long pre-Christian period which produced those books, a strong leaning towards stoicism and asceticism. Perfection, holiness, or divinity were indeed exclusively obtainable by "dispassion," apathy, will-lessness, unconcernedness about the pleasures and pains of life, quietism or *wu-wei*."

Again, "Chwangtze boldly refers Taoist asceticism to China's most ancient times. He represents the mythical Emperor Hwangti as having retired for three months, in

order to prepare himself for receiving the Tao from one Kwang Shentsze, an ascetic who practised quietism, freedom from mental agitation, deafness and blindness to the material world, and so on. Retirement from the busy world is frequently mentioned in the Classics and other ancient writings by such terms as *tun*, *t'un*, *Yih* and *Yin*."

This phase of religious activity manifested itself in India also. Mr. Macnicol speaks about the 6th century B.C.:

"The passionate quest of all awakened spirits, whether they were mendicants or kings, was for immortality, for deliverance from that bondage which was life itself. The orthodox * * * pursued it along the 'road of works,' the way of rite and oblation. * * * The intellectuals * * * sought the same goal along the 'road of knowledge,' reaching it at last by the intuition that perceives the spirit within to be one with the spirit that is ultimate and alone. The devout worshipped in loving faith the god of their devotion, believing that his grace would save them in the midst of a world of a *samsara*. But the most earnest among all these * * * would take the staff of the mendicant and go forth as seekers, *Sramanas*, *Yogis*, *Munis*, *Yatis*—labouring to reach by self-torture or by mental exercises the goal of deliverance so passionately desired."

It would thus appear that the passion for *Mukti* (Salvation) is as old in China as in India.

(h) "THROUGH NATURE UP TO NATURE'S GOD"

The Japanese scholar Suzuki in his historical treatment of the Chinese intellect during the period we have been considering lays special stress on a fact which, according to him, "must be borne in mind when we investigate the history of Chinese philosophy". The remark which has

been made by almost every sinologue is thus worded: "The philosophy of the Chinese has always been practical and most intimately associated with human affairs. No ontological speculation, no cosmogonical hypothesis, no abstract ethical theory seemed worthy of their serious contemplation, unless it had a direct bearing upon practical morality. They did, indeed, speculate in order to reach the ultimate ground of existence; but as they conceived it, it did not cover so wide a realm as we commonly understand it, for to them it meant not the universe generally, with all its innumerable relations, but only a particular portion of it—that is, human affairs—and these only so far as they were concerned with this present mundane life, political and social. Thus, we do not have in China so much of pure philosophy as of moral sayings."

Sinologues must certainly be accused of 'crying for the moon' when they are disappointed in not finding among the Celestials a Spencerian *Synthetic Philosophy* or a Hegellian *Dialectic* and a Bergsonian *Creative Evolution*. They seem to forget that the Chinese of the Chou, Shang and previous Dynasties were contemporaries, if not of the builders of the Pyramids, at least of the precursors of the bards of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and of the *Rishis* who were just contemplating the founding of a superb civilisation on 'the banks of the seven rivers.' To understand Chinese intellect in its proper perspective we have to take a cross-section of world-culture, say, about 8th-7th century B.C., the period which prepared the advent of a Confucius, a Sâkyaśimha, a Zarathustra and a Pythagoras. The ancient Egyptians and Assyrians, the Ægeans of Crete who formed the connecting link between the land of the Nile and the Isles of Greece, the Achæans and Ionians of the Homeric and Hesiodic eras, and the Hindus of the Vedic age would

all be found to be equally wanting in the capacity for philosophical speculation or methodical intellectual work, if one were to judge of their achievements by the standard of to-day. The Hindus and Hellenes are often mentioned as pre-eminent speculative races, and the Chinese placed in a miserable light by their side; but what specimens of Indo-Aryan intellectuality do we come across during the period synchronous with the first half of the Chou Dynasty (1122-249 B.C.), not to speak of the previous two milleniums during which the Chinese people have lived in history? Indeed, all the great races of men who have pioneered human civilisation have in their initial stages been mainly concerned with the problems of bread and butter, and subsidiarily or incidentally with the 'problems of the sphinx,' 'pure philosophy,' 'speculative systems,' methodology, and all those topics with which we are familiar in modern times.

There is another pitfall into which we moderns are apt to be led by our temptation to read into old world life the facts and ideas of the present day. Scholars have their own theories about the ideally best form of religion, as they have also their own ideas of the ideally best form of government. Sinologues as well as Indologists are, therefore, ever anxious to know what was the formula or catchword by which the ancient Chinese as well as Vedic Hindus tried to express their religious notions. Was it polytheistic, monotheistic, pantheistic, henotheistic, anthropomorphic, naturalistic, animistic or what? Probably those pioneers of world's culture did not care for any formula at all.

It is a matter of common experience that there is no one word which can explain all the multifarious thoughts

and activities of even a small group of human beings whom we can watch everyday. Strictly speaking, in this world of ours there is no purely republican or purely despotic state just as there is no purely monotheistic or purely polytheistic people. In every field we meet with cases of 'mixed systems,' toleration of diversities, reconciliation of opposites, and choice of the 'lesser evil.' So that in matters of religion as of politics people are compelled for all practical purposes to accept for their guidance the dictum of Alexander Pope:

"For forms of government let fools contest,
Whatever is best administer'd is best."

The Celestials like their contemporaries of Vedic India were essentially the worshippers of Nature. What they cared for most was Life, and what they feared most was the enemy of Life, both physical and human. The chief inspiration in all their activities was the desire to equip themselves for the 'struggle for existence.' They made use of anything that was likely to promote and advance the interests of life; and therefore, all the World-Forces, taken collectively in their totality, as well as individually and singly, attracted their attention. They wanted to harness the energies of Nature as best as they could to the production of the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life. These natural benefactors of the human race were personified in their imagination, and they became the deities, the spirits, the fairies and the *Shàngti* or *Ekam*. Furthermore, the example of predecessors is a great help to subsequent generations especially when they are bent on an arduous task. So the ancestor-cult has had a prominent place in the comprehensive cult of world-forces ever since the dawn of Chinese and Indian history,

the heroified fathers being as great beneficent agencies as the planets, the earth, fire and wind.

Nature or Universe, considered materially, gave to these pioneers of civilisation the primitive sciences and primitive arts. Nature or Universe, considered animistically, gave them the higher personalities or transcendent Beings who, like Prometheus, were the discoverers and custodians of all these instruments of human culture. They began that "quest of the Holy Grail," both intellectual and spiritual, which mankind is pursuing still and will continue to pursue for ever under the guidance of myriads of Sir Galahads.

We have read Charles Lamb's famous "Dissertation on Roast Pig" in his *Essays of Elia*. The humorous account of the Chinese invention of the art of cooking through cumbrous processes that we have in this most delightful of mock-anthropological essays is, after all, a serious chapter in the origins of civilisation. This was the kind of things the Celestials and Vedic Hindus were doing—discovering the rudiments of every desirable knowledge. And in the process of discovery they 'postulated' or took for granted the spiritual Being and Beings—(has not the 'God' of every race, at best, been only a postulate?)—who are above the ordinary mortals and who are capable of helping them in their need. They were thus looking "through Nature up to Nature's God." Their religion was fundamentally the handmaid of Life and hence coincided fully with what we call *Kultur*.

There are, however, certain contrasts which must not be overlooked by the student of Comparative Religion :

1. The form in which Vedic Literature has come down to us is quite different from that in which we have the Chinese Classics.

2. Vedic religion is more martial than that embodied in *Shu-King* and *She-King*. Earliest Hindu Rishis seem to have been burning with the passion for extirpating the enemies.

3. The tone of Vedic texts is more naturalistic than that of Chinese classics; but the actual socio-economic life as described in the *Liki* would indicate that planetary and natural phenomena had equal if not more influence among the Celestials.

4. Neither the Celestials nor the Vedists knew of any icons or images, unless the personifications and metaphors necessarily involved in the use of language as a medium of expression be regarded as images, as, strictly speaking, they should. But while we read of temples in ancient China, we have only open-air altars in the 'land of seven rivers.'

5. The sacrificial service was the monopoly and prerogative of the king, the "son of Heaven" in the Middle Kingdom, but it was the function of the people or at any rate their sacerdotal delegates in Hindustân.

If we neglect these and other minor differences we may state that the socio-religious world into which Sâkya was born was identical with that in which Confucius was to work. The two great Sages found in their respective compatriots the same mental biases and spiritual attitudes, and, as we shall see, preached to their disciples almost the self-same gospel.

CHAPTER III

Confucius the historian and Sâkyasimha the philosopher

SECTION I.

Aufklärung in Asia—the Age of Encyclopædists (7TH-5TH CENT. B.C.)

Matthew Arnold in his Introduction to Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* remarks on the 18th century as being in England pre-eminently an age of prose. This remark can apply to the whole Europe of the 18th century and to every department of its thought. Prose is the instrument of reason, science, criticism and philosophy. The eighteenth century was thus the era of rationalism, discussion, summing-up, stock-taking, paraphrasing, explanation, *aufklärung*. It was the epoch of French encyclopædists, English deists and German classicists.

* It witnessed the production of the Cuvierian *System of Natural History*, Hume's *Essay on the Human Understanding* and the Kantian *Critique of Pure Reason*. It was a time when rulers and statesmen were apostles of "Enlightenment" and came to their work equipped with philosophical theories as to the common weal; when poets and artists were archæologists, philologists, folklorists, botanists and art-critics, and when the title of a poetical work could be *The Essay on Man*. Truly, the sway of the Muses was held in abeyance, and the "sad Nine * * * left their Parnassus" to the tender mercies of the prophets of 'the philosophy of history,' 'the proper study of mankind,' and 'the rights of man.'"

Corresponding to the systole and diastole in every living organism we have to recognise an epoch of expansion and creative originality as well as an epoch of concentration and interpretative criticism in social organisms. An epoch of concentration was the 18th century. Another such epoch in European history was the 15th century prior to the discoveries which initiated a 'new learning,' a new religion, a new state-system as well as a new industrial and commercial era. And yet another such age of criticism and concentration was the 4th century B.C. which summed up the whole history and philosophy of classical Hellas. The close of that epoch heralded the birth of altogether new conceptions of life under the auspices of Alexander, the mighty son of the "barbarian" conqueror of the disunited Greek city-states, and witnessed the inauguration of a new world for which Professor Mahaffy coins the term "Hellenistic" as contrasted with Hellenic.

The fourth century B.C. was essentially an age of prose and discussion. The dramatists like Euripides and Aristophanes thought in terms of the Periclean demagogues and mobocrats, and wrote for an audience every second person in which was a sophist. Unfortunately, the term 'sophist' has not yet been able to shake off the degraded sense associated with it in spite of the monumental apology offered by Grote in his celebrated *History of Greece*. It is, however, the sophists who represent the best products of Athenian culture in the most flourishing period of the Hellenic race. In the 4th century B.C. Athens was the "school of Hellas," and the most prominent men of the day were the sophists, those peripatetic pedagogues and apostles of encyclopædic culture to whom the world owes Greek physics, Greek logic,

Greek psychology, Greek politics, and Greek ethics. Socrates was the prince of sophists, Plato was the disciple of that Christ of Hellas, and Aristotle, the *guru* or "guide, philosopher, friend" of Alexander, "drank deep of the pierian spring" at Plato's Academy. The whole age was dominated by questionings and answerings, criticism and counter-criticism, mass-meetings and street-corner talks, doubts and explanations regarding the individual, the family, the city, the state and the universe. In one word, it was the first epoch of *sturm und drang* in the history of Europe.

Asiatic History also furnishes several such ages of 'storm and stress,' criticism, interpretation, explanation, *aufklärung*. The sixth century B.C. was probably the first epoch of this kind. During this epoch the whole humanity of the Orient was passing through a period of interpretative criticism. We notice this both in China and India as well as in Persia. All Asia was stirred to her depths by thousand and one questionings, intellectual, moral and spiritual. In the near East, middle East and the far East, there could be seen plentiful as blackberries the Paracelsuses and Fausts, the seekers after truth, beauty and good, brain-workers with their methods for solving the doubts, the spiritual doctors with their philosophical recipes, moralists with their systems of diagnosis, and healers of the "Sorrows of Werter." This all-round stir and turmoil was characterised by literary efforts which led to the collection, compilation and codification of the ancient traditions, legends and songs; the best intellectuals of the times became the systematisers and conservers of their race-culture. Every work that has been handed down to us from this age is a summing up of the previous ages; every person on whom we can definitely lay our hands at this age is an

all-round sophist, an encyclopædist who has tried all methods and who has mastered all available facts. Like Plato and Aristotle, the Asiatic master-minds of the sixth century B.C. thus represent the sunset of an old system rather than the dawn of a new.

The last word of classical Europe was being taught in the schools of Academy and Lyceum. The last word of primitive Asia was being preached by Zarathustra (B.C. 660-583), Sâkyasimha (B.C. 563-483) and Confucius (B.C. 551-479). The next epoch was created by Alexander (B.C. 330) the unifier of the East and the West, Chandragupta Maurya (B.C. 330) the first Emperor of United India, and Shi-Hwangti (B.C. 220) the first "Son of Heaven" to rule the whole Celestial Empire. The problems of these Empire-builders were too far beyond the ken of a Greek sophist, a Hindu philosopher and a Chinese historian. Sâkyasimha, Confucius, and Plato were anachronisms in that new age with novel problems which required another Socratic method and another *Novum Organum*.

It was not the conventional and orthodox Greek philosophy of man as 'a political animal,' but the un-Greek individualism and cosmo-politanism or universalism of the Stoics and Epicureans (with their doctrines of the "Law of Nature," "Law of Reason," etc, anticipating the *jus gentium* and "Law of Nations" of the Romans) that expressed the ideals of the post-Alexandrian Ptolemies and Seleucidæ who in their daily lives were bringing about a *rapprochement* between diverse races and diverse sentiments. This new age is, therefore, signalled by Shi Hwangti's order for the wholesale burning of the Confucian texts and massacre of the Confucian pedantocrats,—the most emphatic protest against fossils ever recorded in history. It is certainly an allegory of the

method followed by those who have the "shortest way" with old *idolas*. And in Hindusthân the Finance Minister of Chandragupta is not a yellow-robed monk of Sâkyasimha's monastery, but Kautilya, the Machiavelli and Bismarck of Indian politicians. All the world over, the "old order" changed "yielding place to new." But as yet we have to see something of this old order as conserved by the Asiatic Encyclopædists of the 6th century B.C..

SECTION 2.

Confucius and Sâkyasimha in Contemporary Asia

(a) "HIGHER CRITICISM"

Besides Zarathustra four men of Asia living in the sixth century B.C. have been honoured as the founders of four new cults: Lao-tsze the prophet of *Taoism*, and Confucius the teacher of *Propriety*, in China; and Sâkyasimha the propounder of *Nirvânism*, and Mahâvira the founder of *Jainism*, in India. Of these four, one in each country towers above his rival and the rest of his compatriots into solitary greatness. They are Confucius and Sâkyasimha.

Mankind is so obsessed by the current notions and superstitions about such ancestors as have been fortunately canonised and heroified by the verdict of subsequent history that it is impossible for scientific purposes to get an exact idea of what those men of flesh and blood were like. This is all the more difficult in the case of prophets and seers whose worshippers number in present day life by hundreds of millions. The instruments of Higher Criticism, the Doctrine of Relativity, and Comparative-Historical Method have got a place in sociologists' laboratories only recently. It may sometimes, therefore, be worth one's while to listen to the

opinion of a cynic and satirist, if not for anything else, at least to get a fresh view-point.

Let us see what Anatole France, the pupil of Ernest Renan, says about the *man* Jesus in relation to his brother-Jews and their masters the Romans. "Wherever in modern poetry or art the figure of Jesus is treated, no matter in what spirit—let it be by Paul Heyse, by Sadakichi Hartmann the Japanese, or Edward Soderberg the Dane—He is the principal figure of His day, occupying the thoughts of all. France, in his story, *Judaens Procurator*, has, in an extremely clever manner, indicated the place occupied by Jesus in the consciousness of the contemporary Roman. To any one who can read, the fact that the life and death of Jesus interested only a little band of humble people in Jerusalem, is sufficiently established by the circumstance that Josephus, who knows everything that happens in the Palestine of his day, does not so much as name Him. The man who argues that such an event as the Crucifixion must have made some impression forgets what a common and unheeded incident a crucifixion was in troublous times. During the Jewish war of the year 70 in the course of which 13,000 Jews were killed at Skythopolis, 50,000 in Alexandria, 40,000 at Jotapata—1,100,000 in all—Titus crucified on an average 500 Jews every day. When, impelled by hunger, they crept under the walls of Jerusalem, they were captured, tortured and crucified. At last there was no more wood for crosses left in Palestine."

The above extract is from Dr. Georg Brandes the Danish critic's work on Anatole France in "Contemporary Men of Letters Series." The following rather long account is also from the same: "As his principal character, France has taken the Titus *Ælius* Lamia, * * * a gay young Roman who * * * is banished, * * * goes to

Palestine and meets with a friendly reception in the house of Pontius Pilate. Forty years pass; Ælius Lamia has long been back in Italy, he is at Baiae, taking the baths, and is sitting one day by a path * * * when in the occupant of a litter * * * it seems to him that he recognises his old host, Pilate.

"And it really is Pilate. * * * They talk of old days—of all the trouble Pontius had with those wretched Jews, who refused to do homage to the image of the Emperor on the banners and allowed themselves to be flogged to death rather than worship it. * * * He recalls an evening on which he saw one of them (Jewesses) dancing. * * * She had heavy red hair, this girl, whose charms enticed the young Roman to follow her everywhere. 'But she ran away from me,' he continued, 'when the young lay preacher and miracle-worker came from Galilee to Jerusalem. She became inseparable from him and joined the little band of men and women who were always with him. You remember him of course?' 'No,' replies Pilate. 'His name was Jesus, I think; he was from Nazareth.' 'I do not remember him,' reaffirms Pilate. 'You were obliged to have him crucified.' 'Jesus—' mutters Pilate, 'from Nazareth—I have no recollection of it.'"

This is how "values" are "transvalued" by a cynic. Anatole France makes even Pilate forget Jesus and Lamia remember him only because of Magdalene! But as a countryman of mine, Professor Seal, has well put it in his introductory note to Mookerji's *Indian Shipping*: "To explode the Mosaic authorship is not to explode Moses in culture-history." Christ, the "strong Son of God, Immortal Love" lives in human imagination though the man Jesus is forgotten. It should, therefore, be a most natural thing if we do not find

the historic persons Confucius and Sâkyasimha to be the sole luminaries of their age which the reverent and pious imagination of future generations of devotees have made out of them as the Eternal Sage and the god *Buddha*.

(b) THE PEERS OF CONFUCIUS

Indeed in the China of the 6th century B.C. there was no place for Dictator in any field. It was a period of feudalism or political disruption, and there was no one centre of gravity in the socio-economic or socio-political system. Decentralisation in politics necessarily brought with it the establishment of culture-centres throughout the length and breadth of the country. In the history of civilisation feudalistic disintegration thus serves a very useful purpose in so far as it leads to diffusion and popularisation of ideas through the rivalry of contending states. This is what happened in mediæval Europe under the régime of the Barons, Markgrafs and Dukes, guilds and city-states. Every barony or duchy had its own *minnesinger*, *chârana*, minstrel, *volksdichter*, *wanderlehrer*, *troubadour* and *trouvere*. It is extremely difficult for even an extraordinary genius to get more than a parochial fame under conditions which foster local patriotism, unless there be special circumstances calculated to break the barriers between centre and centre and create a common standard of culture.

The following account of Legge about the manner in which the *Book of Odes* could be compiled is interesting as showing how cultural unity is possible even under feudal conditions: "The feudal states were modelled after the

pattern of the royal state. They also had their music-masters, musicians, and their historio-graphers. The Kings in their progresses did not visit each particular state.

* * * They met, at well-known points, the marquises,

earls, barons of the different quarters of the kingdom.
* * * We are obliged to suppose that the princes would be attended to the places of rendezvous by their music-masters, carrying with them the poetical compositions collected in their several regions, to present them to their superior of the royal court." It was the *Durbars* or Imperial conferences that supplied the connecting link between state and state in feudal China. But though such gatherings might be good opportunities for minstrels to get a hearing beyond their little platoon, it is very much to be doubted if they furnished facilities for scholars and thinkers to reach their peers throughout an entire continent. In disintegrated Germany, on the other hand, culture could be unified and the first-class thinkers could acquire an all-German reputation because, according to Merz in the *History of European Thought*, "the migration of students as well as eminent Professors from one university to another was one of the most important features of German academic life." The condition of the Celestial kingdoms during the Chou Period cannot, however, be compared to that of the German states of the 18th century.

Professor Gowen gives the general character of the Chou Dynasty which ruled over China from B.C. 1122 to 249: "The period as a whole reveals a gradual weakening of the central authority by reason of the increase of power in the vassal and confederate states. The number of these at one time was as many as a hundred and twenty-five, and even in the time of Confucius there were fifty-two."

About the middle of the 8th cent. B.C., to quote again from Gowen's *Outline History of China*, "the vassal princes became more and more powerful and therewith more and more independent. They began to take possession of entire provinces and to govern them without reference to the

decrees of the Emperors." And "the history of the next century *i.e.* from B.C. 685 to 591 has been entitled the period of *Five Leaders* because it exhibits the rise in succession to power of the five states." The disunion and struggle for hegemony went on till B.C. 249.

Professor Hirth also remarks: "If we glance at a historical map of Germany during the 'Thirty Years' War, and if we recall the changes it underwent before and after that period within the space of about two centuries and a half, corresponding in duration to the *Chun-tsin* period (B.C. 722-481) we may comprehend the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of furnishing a synoptic view of the numerous states constantly at war with each other, falling under the nominal sway of the Chou Dynasty."

Each feudal lord certainly considered himself to be a son of Heaven, and the royal court was everywhere organised on the same plan fully described in the *Chou-li*, the Text-Book of Politics compiled in the 12th century B.C.. Regarding this work Hirth says: "As an educator of the nation the *Chou-li* has probably not its like among the literatures of the world, not excepting even the Bible. This remark refers especially to its minute details of public and social life.
* * * The most rigid religious ceremonial regulates the daily life of the Emperor, government officers and feudatory lords."

According to the stereotyped constitution set forth in the *Chou-li*, every state had to maintain six departments of government, each under a Mandarin. Unfortunately, we know very little of the names of the persons who, like the Great Sage and his rival Lao-tsze, filled those posts, and of the kind of work they actually did. But it is evident that scattered throughout the Middle Kingdom there were born

during the long period of the Chou Dynasty men of mark in statesmanship, education, philosophy, and warfare. As it is, we have the names only of Laotsze the keeper of archives at the Imperial capital, and Confucius the Judge and Librarian at a provincial city, both belonging to the sixth century B.C., and of Kuantzi the Prime Minister of a small state towards the beginning of the seventh century B.C.. About this statesman-philosopher Hirth remarks: "The advice given by Kuantzi has become the prototype of governmental prudence for Chinese official life. Thus Kuantzi * * * has become the father of institutions of the utmost importance to the whole empire during its later economic development; for example, in regard to the iron and salt monopolies. If we consider that his life-time lay in the early days of regal Rome, and that the work of his life was done before Solon the Athenian was born, Kuantzi may be regarded as having furnished the very type of a statesman in the modern sense by collecting facts for the purposes of governmental administration; further by endeavouring to describe such facts in the shape of a numerical formula, he may be regarded as the oldest statistician of all nations."

In the present state of Sinology we have only vague references to the ancient sages and professors of Taoism in connexion with Laotsze, and to previous collectors, compilers and editors in connexion with Confucius. If the fame of Confucius depends mainly on his work as editor, he has certainly been usurping the meed due to others, since neither the *Book of History* nor the *Book of Odes*, the two most important, nor the *Book of Changes*, the most ancient and abstruse, of Chinese Classics, owe their compilation to him. In any case it is clear that Confucius was only one of the many intellectuals who applied their brains to the prob-

lems associated by posterity exclusively with his name. His life, we know, was not a success. He was not confident even of his posthumous fame. He is said to have remarked about himself: "My principles do not make way in the world; how shall I make myself known to future ages?" He retired from public life in despair and died broken-hearted. He declared himself to be a failure—"The great mountain must crumble, the strong beam must break, the wise man withers away like a plant."

This was the historic person Confucius. He had not to renounce royalty like a Sâkya or suffer martyrdom like a Jesus. He was not a successful nation-maker like the Prophet of Mecca, nor did he experience the ecstasy of a Chaitanya of Bengal. Yet, in the words of von der Gablentz, "even at the present day, after the lapse of more than two thousand years, the moral, social, and political life of about one third of mankind continues to be under the full influence of his mind." It was under the Han Dynasty *i.e.* over 300 years after his death, that Confucius was made Duke and Earl. The Chinese Herodotus, the historian Suma-chien (2nd-1st centuries B.C.) calls him "the divinest of men." And he was made "Perfect Sage" in the 5th century A.D. *i.e.* a whole millenium after he was dead and gone. Surely, "distance lends enchantment to the ear!"

In the sixth century B.C. Confucius was only a mortal among mortals. But the age itself was an extraordinary one. Says Prof. Suzuki: "What a glorious age this was for early thinkers of China can be seen from the fact that several writers and historians of the day made attempts to classify them according to their doctrines, the number of which had become confusingly large. To quote only one of these historians, Panku, author of the History of

the Han Dynasty, divides the ante-Chin (Chou dynasty) thinkers into ten classes: (1) Scholars (Confucians), (2) Taoists, (3) Astrologers and Geomancers (4) Jurists, (5) Logicians or Sophists. (6) Followers of Mutze, (7) Diplomats, (8) Miscellaneous writers, (9) Agriculturists, (10) Story writers."

Confucius may be great, but China is greater. Regarding the general stir and turmoil of the period Suzuki remarks: "The Chinese mind may have developed later a higher power of reasoning, and made a deeper study of consciousness; but its range of intellectual activities was never surpassed in any other period. * * * During the ante-Chin period Confucianism was not yet firmly established, and there were many rival doctrines struggling for ascendancy and recognition."

Confucius is not China. We have been misunderstanding the Celestial People by taking it as but Confucius "writ large." To understand the Middle Kingdom of the time of Confucius it is desirable to have the fresh standpoint of an Anatole France with regard to the age of Jesus. The so-called Confucian classics must not be allowed to cover our whole mental horizon. They should rather be awarded a place neither superior nor inferior to, but alongside of, the works of the class of *Chou-li* and the Taoist lore compiled by the Great Sage's senior and no less great rival. And to have a complete picture of the intellectual atmosphere one would have to familiarize oneself with numerous other forms of literature which unfortunately seem to have been neglected and not given their due by sinologists. Much useful work remains to be done in the culture-history of pre-Confucian China covering, as it does, a period of over 3000 years.

The only original work done by Confucius is the compilation of the history of the state in which he was born from the court documents. It is called "Spring and Autumn Annals," the dullest of the five classics, and generally recognised to be unreadable except for the notes added by a subsequent disciple. As for the other four, his position is that of the Hindu *Vyâsa* (lit. the compiler of ancient texts), to whom we owe the *Vedas* and *Mahâbhârata* in their present forms. Not even that, because there had been other Chinese Vyâsas before him; and it is to them that the credit should be given.

(c) THE PEERS OF SÂKYASIMHA

Similarly in painting the intellectual and spiritual India of the sixth century B.C. the artist should not cover the whole canvas with the huge portrait of a Sâkyasimha. Sâkyasimha is surely a giant, but his peers were as great giants as himself. It was, in fact, an age of giants, to be compared with any Augustan era in world's history. The compatriots and immediate precursors as well as juniors of Sâkyasimha counted among them the Protagorases, the Anaxagorases, the Socrateses, the Platos and the Aristotles of Hindusthân—that band of *Vyâsas*, sophists and encyclopædists to whom we owe in a systematic form the earliest specimens of Indo-Aryan medicine, chemistry, botany, zoology, philology, logic, metaphysics, and sociology.

It was an age of *Parishats* or academies, permanent forest-universities, periodical forest-conferences of the master-minds, itinerant preachers, Socratic questioners, closet-recluses, and researchers and investigators into everything from sexual science to salvation. Sâkyasimha was only one of the numberless "stormers and stressers" in that epoch of *sturm und drang*.

Like the China of those days India also was in the feudal stage. So much of the country as had received the light of the Vedic Rishis was divided into a number of royalties, chieftaincies, and even clan-republics. It was not till about 150 years after Sâkyasimha that the people of entire Hindustân were to realise and achieve their political unity under the organising genius of the Maurya Monarch. But as yet the fact that Sâkya was born not on the banks of the sacred Indus or in chief cities like Benares and Pâtaliputra but in a *markgrafate*, the debatable border-land *between Bengal and Nepal (certainly, to a great extent, the *ultima thule* of the enlightened people of those days), indicates that Aryan culture was not confined only to the metropolis and well-established centres of influence but was gradually bringing "fresh fields and pastures new" under its sway. Feudal India in the age of Sâkyasimha witnessed the diffusion and expansion of culture, which, to quote Merz's remarks about the progress of thought in Feudal Germany, was "not a stationary power, but continually on the move from south to north, from west to east, to and fro, exchanging and recruiting its forces, bringing heterogeneous elements into close contact, spreading everywhere the seed of new ideas and discoveries, and preparing new land for still more extended cultivation."

To mention only a few names among the master-minds of Sâkyasimha's age. There were the grammarians of the Pânini cycle, whose comprehensive work on Sanskrit language stands the most rigorous test of modern philologists as a monument of logical insight and thorough-going research. There were the chemists, botanists and zoologists of the

* A non-Aryan sphere of influence, according to Pandit H. P. Sâstri of Calcutta.

Charaka-school whose encyclopædic work on *Āyurveda* (The Science of Life) continues to be the basis of Hindu medical practitioners even to-day. Then there were the sociologists who, following the lead of the eponymous culture-hero Manu, were the compilers of *Dharma Śāstras*, *Smṛiti Śāstras*, *Nīti Śāstras*, etc., each of which is at once the Hindu *Yi-king*, and *Li-king* and partially also the *Shu-king*. It was out of this class of literature that about 150 years after Śākya-simha, Kautilya the Finance Minister of the Maurya Emperor derived materials for the Hindu *Chou-li*, called the *Artha Śāstra*, the Imperial Gazetteer of India in the 4th-3rd centuries B.C..

Besides, the students of *Upanishads* and *Darsanas*, those systems of psychology, logic and metaphysics, were a legion. Add to these the scholiasts who took as their master Veda-Vyāsa, or the famous compiler of Vedic Literature, and we get an idea of the all-round intellectual activity that characterised the life of the people during the age of Śākya. Nor is this all. There were innumerable 'orders' or corporate bodies of wanderers or hermits. Says Prof. Rhys Davids in *Buddhist India*: "In a note to Pāṇini IV. 3,110 there are mentioned two Brahmin orders, the Karmandinas and the Pârâsârinâs. * * * In the *Majjhima* (3, 298), the opinions of a certain Pârâsâriya, a Brahmin teacher, are discussed by the Buddha." Rhys Davids also mentions several Orders older than the Śākyan. Also, "the Jains have remained as an organised community * * * from before the rise of Buddhism." All these Orders equally "claimed to be pure as regards means of livelihood, * * * to be unfettered * * * to be friends; * * * were all mendicants."

The chapters, "Mahavira's predecessors and disciples" and "Introduction to Jaina philosophy" in Mrs. Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism* furnish also from a new angle an account of the thought-forces that had been moving in the Indian mind during the 6th century B.C..

There were thus other *Nirvânists* (Quellers of Misery) and salvationists, spiritual doctors and moralisers, self-torturists and *moksha*-seekers, renunciationists and "path"-finders, theists and non-theists, as well as positivists, humanitarians, and teachers of the 'whole duty of man' besides Sâkyasimha. His were no new-fangled ideas, and he was not branded as the 'corrupter of youths;' the topics of his talk were all in the air, the man in the street was equally at home with those problems and probably also with some of the solutions. If his contemporaries had reasons to find fault with him they had equal reasons to find fault with thousand others. Nor was Pâli, the language or dialect in which Sâkyas's *Analects* or discourses, sayings and dialogues have been preserved, his own improvisation. It had been growing as the medium of communication all through upper India especially among the *wanderlehrers*, *paribbâjakas*, the peripatetic sophists, itinerant monks, etc., as Prof. Rhys Davids has carefully pointed out. Naturally, therefore, like Confucius, Sâkyas also could not be regarded as a god, a prophet or even an extraordinary saint in his life-time. He was only a man among men, not even a demi-god, at best, the founder of an Order (or *Samgha*).

SECTION 3

Development of Traditional Socio-Religious Life

(a) RELATIVITY OF RELIGION TO ENVIRONMENT

The historic Jesus of Nazareth is said to have advised his compatriots to follow the doctrine of Non-Resistance:

"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." Another such quietistic and passivistic announcement was made by him when he declared: "My Kingdom is not of this world."

The Bible is the gospel of political *Nirvanism* (annihilation) and non-secular other-worldlyism, what in latest phraseology is called Pessimism. It is strange, therefore, that Schopenhauer, whom nature and the discouraging circumstances in the national outlook of Young Germany co-operated to make the arch-prophet of Pessimism in modern Europe, should try to have his views confirmed by a few passages from the Indian *Upanishads* and *Dhammapada*. His authority was nearer home, and he might have well remarked of the anti-military and anti-political verses of the Bible what he said about the *Upanishads*: "They have given me solace in life, and they will give me solace in death." But the pessimistic character of the teachings of Jesus has been pointed out by another philosopher who has been recently much in vogue. Nietzsche finds in the Hindu sociologist Manu's Code a rational system of social "values," whereas he condemns the Bible as preaching the "slave-morality," as teaching exactly the thing which the quietist Schopenhauer would have appreciated.

Political indifferentism and desire to escape from the troubles and difficulties of this world into the convenient other-world of spiritual bliss were characteristics of the Apocalyptists of the 2nd-1st centuries B.C., who contributed to the building up of the Bible story. This has been noticed by historians also. Prof. Dunning of Columbia University in his *History of Political Theories* has dealt with the subject from the rational standpoint of evolutionary sociology. He accounts for the quietistic pessimism in the declarations

of Jesus by reference to the economico-political subjection of the Jews to the Roman Cæsars.

A subject race can have no politics. The Jews had no scope for advancement in this world. It was out of the question for them to successfully resist the Romans. "To render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" was a "virtue of a necessity." As the mediæval Shylock put it in Shakespeare's language: "Sufferance is the badge of all our tribe." To this might be appended:—"And non-resistance is the creed of all our *Rishis*." A persecuted and suffering tribe can evolve out of its inner consciousness not the philosophy of energism but only the metaphysics embodied in such *sutras* as "My Kingdom is not of this world," or "the Kingdom of God is within you."

This Historical Method of criticism applied to the interpretation of the Bible may be one-sided to a certain extent. But it throws light from a new angle and hence requires to be applied to the study of all the culture-systems of the world.

It is, however, a very new method even in Europe and America. It goes without saying that Asiatic Sociology has not been attacked with this weapon. For as yet sinologues, indologists, assyriologists and egyptologists have been interested in their sciences mainly as archæologists, palæontologists and necrologists, i.e., as students of interesting curios, specimens of fossils, bones of dead organisms, etc. A real Biological study of these phenomena as specimens of living human culture, as expressions of growing vital force will commence after the pioneers have done their work.

To whom is Plato's *Republic* intelligible without the mass of facts bearing on the whole *milieu* of Hellenic city-states out of which it grew? What would be the appreciation

of Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Milton's *Paradise Lost* without reference to the Catholicism of mediæval Europe and all that Puritan England implies? It must be admitted that as yet neither Confucius nor Sâkyasimha, in fact, none of the philosophers, poets and religious leaders of the Orient have been placed in their proper historic perspective, i.e., their socio-economic and political background. We try to understand Asia from single passages, or single books, or single individuals, or single institutions or single movements!

The difficulty of understanding the religious consciousness or the whole mentality and intellectuality of peoples who have been extinct or are in very unfavourable position in modern times would be apparent if we take a simple instance from successful specimens of to-day. Suppose one has to interpret England or English mentality or the religious consciousness of the English people in the year 1915. Applying the conventional method of interpreting Asia by such catchwords as "changeless East," "pessimistic Orient," and "non-aggressive Asiatics" or by single individuals as when we use the equation "Confucius=China," and the like, we ask—"Who or what is England? Is it Stopford Brooke or Frederick Harrison or Bernard Shaw or Kitchener?—or Is it the Manchester capitalists or the University undergraduates or Slum-landlords or Labour-Unions?—or Is it the Times Book Club or Armstrong & Co., or the British Museum or Trafalgar Square?—Or rather is it the Bible or the Encyclopædia Britannica?" The question itself seems to be absurd. And yet we have to be satisfied with answers to absurd questions regarding Asia.

China is greater than Confucius as India is greater than Sâkyasimha. The religious sentiments and spiritual activity of the people of both these continents are, therefore,

more than what can be found in the writings, compilations, sayings or dialogues of these two men.

(b) CHINESE RELIGION IN THE AGE OF CONFUCIUS

As contributing to the picture of Chinese religion in the 6th century B.C., it is interesting to know of the legend that Confucius came to Laotsze to interrogate the great Taoist sage about the laws and rites of social life. Says Prof. De Groot—"Although Confucius was evidently no adherent of the Taoist discipline in its rigorous form, and certainly no hermit, yet we are not entitled to admit that he was not a good Taoist. The fact that he piously visited Laotsze in his retirement is significant; moreover, according to two Classics, he explicitly mentioned Taoist retirement and indifferentism with high praise."

"The very wise and virtuous man," said Confucius, "acts and behaves according to the Tao; * * * but it is only the holy man who can withdraw from the world and conceal his wisdom without spite. * * * Those who with earnest faith, wish to learn the Tao of natural goodness, which protects against death, neither enter a state which is in danger nor stay in a state where disorder reigns."

"After reading these classical passages," says De Groot, "we may look with less distrust at a page in Chwang's writings which represents Confucius as a most ardent apostle of Taoism, urging a prominent disciple of his own towards the cultivation of indifferentism about his own person and the things around him, and also to the practice of 'inaction.'"

Whatever be the value of the Taoist teachers' story about the historic Confucius having studied and practised their teach-

ings, there is no denying the fact that these were as powerful in his days as in classic times. The mysticism of the Taoists must not be ignored if we are to get a full view of Chinese religious ideas. Thus in the classic *Book of Rites*, as De Groot points out, we read of ascetic practices as being traditional. "In the month of midsummer the growth of the days reaches the ultimate point, and the Yin and the Yang commence their annual struggle so that the principles of death and production separate. Men eminent for virtue and wisdom then fast; they conceal themselves somewhere in their dwellings, where their desires are stilled, where they do nothing with precipitation, and banish music and lust. Nobody may enter there; they must take the smallest possible quantity of savoury food, and have no well-tasting mixtures brought to them. They must put their sexual desires in the background, and set their minds at rest."

Not only did mysticism prevail as of old; but the classical socio-religious life seems to have remained entire. According to Giles "the reeds and the tortoise shell were still employed, * * we find allusions to fasting. * * * It appears that fasting and purification were practised for about ten days before the performance of the sacrifices took place."

The deities of the earliest Chou Dynasty continued to receive worship and sacrifices in Confucius' and Laotsze's time. The pantheon still consisted of the Shāngti, heaven, earth, ancestors, mountains, rivers, elements, planets, etc. Nor was there anything to counteract the perpetuation of fetichism, shamanism, demonolatry, charms, etc., observed by the Celestials of the classic age. The Vedic Indians could still live and move easily with the Chinese, and also with the great Confucius.

For Confucius was not the founder of any new school, religious or moral or educational. Probably his method was Socratic, and he had pupils, disciples, admirers, and followers. "Sometimes," it is said, to quote Rev. Bergen's *The Sages of Shantung*, "his followers numbered 3,000. It is not to be assumed that this number was instructed at any one time, but there were crowds competing to get within the sound of his voice, and be regarded as attendants on his lecture."

He was a man of encyclopædic culture. So the topics of his lectures were diverse. "It is said that he taught literary criticism, and history. Practical ethics, faithfulness, honesty, music and poetry were discussed and studied. Theories of governments, and even metaphysics were amongst his favourite themes."

His reputation with posterity depends on the Classics alleged to have been edited by him. His literary work is that of a historian, not of a philosopher. But as historian, his chief object was moral. He may be compared to Plutarch who wrote the *Parallel Lives* of Greek and Roman celebrities to inculcate moral lessons. Confucius cared to chronicle the history of his own state as well as to set his seal upon the storehouses of information regarding the classic past because his practical object was to educate the princes and statesmen by warning as well as by example. But unlike Plutarch, the Chinese Vyâsa did not take the Carlylean view of history as a "biography of great men."

Prof. Hirth says:—"To reform the social life of his native land, to lead his contemporaries to adopt a certain standard of morality as exhibited in their daily doings, was the main ambition of his work. This standard he endeavoured to derive from the records of the past."

So far as religion was concerned, the Celestials of Confucius' age were not at all affected by what he did; because he had nothing new to give. Rather, his editorship placed before them as fixed codes the Bibles they had been traditionally following. His work was not creative in any sense, but conservative. The old cult of Nature-forces thus continued to persist in its entirety. And if to future generations of Chinese, Confucianism has meant simply the study of the classics, religion in China may be supposed to have been the same after as before Confucius and also in his own age.

Nor did the personal life of Confucius contribute any new factor to the traditional religion. In the third lecture Giles has shown that the sage followed in *toto* everything that was done by his contemporaries. He had no ideas of reform as to the conceptions or practices governing the socio-religious life of his countrymen. "He believed firmly in a higher power—the God of his fathers. * * * Not only did he believe in the existence of this Deity * * * but he was conscious, and expressed his consciousness openly, that in his teachings he was working under divine guidance."

Confucius once said: "If my doctrines are to prevail, it is so ordered of God; if they are to fail, it is so ordered of God." Yet Confucius has been known to be an atheist and a positivist, and the Chinese who follow him as a non-religious people!

Giles remarks further: "Although he would not discuss in a familiar way the *pros* and *cons* of belief in an unseen world, probably because of the solemnity of the subject, he did not hesitate to use the name of the Deity in any suitable connexion." As for the Supernatural world, the following opinion of Confucius is recorded in *Confucianism and*

its Rivals: "How abundantly do spiritual beings make their presence manifest among us! We look for them but do not see them, we listen to them, but do not hear them; yet they enter into all things, and there is nowhere they are not. They cause all the people in the world to fast, and to put on their best clothes, in order to take part in the sacrifices." What more do we find in the religious beliefs of Vedic or modern Hindus? Surely, if the Indians of any age are religious, so too was Confucius, so too are all those who call themselves Confucianists.

Confucius believed in sacrifices, and in the existence and presence of the spirits of the departed dead. He also sacrificed to his dead ancestors and to spirits in general. All his life was thus perfectly in accord with the prevailing religious customs. Both by writings and practice Confucius was conserving the past. If the Vedist could appreciate easily the sentiments and tendencies of the Chinese of the 12th century B.C., he could certainly be quite at home among the audience of Confucius.

Under these circumstances it seems absurd to ask the question: "Is Confucianism a religion or simply a system of morals?" The proper question rather is: "Should the Chinese religion of the classic age or of the age of Confucius be called Confucianism? What is the contribution of Confucius to the making of this religion?" It would have been clear that Confucianism as a title applied to Chinese religion down to the 6th century B.C. is a misnomer. Following the Chinese example, the Hindus would have called their ancient religion Vyâsic simply because Vyâsa happened to be the compiler and editor of the Vedic texts! The best name for the cult of World-Forces like those in ancient India and China is *Sanditanism* as devised by the

Hindus and *Taoism* as known to the Celestials—both implying the idea of Eternal Order or Permanent Way.

The Chinese like the Hindus have ever been prolific in the invention of gods and goddesses. There are facts to indicate that the classical Nature-cult did not remain stationary but passed through various stages of development. Even the unchanging Chinese change—and they knew how to change and adapt themselves according to the *Zeitgeist* millenniums before the so-called “opening up of China.”

The following extracts from the *China Review* (XIII. 416-18) are quoted to show that deities unknown to people of the first three or four hundred years of the Chou Dynasty have been introduced in subsequent periods:

“The worship of the gods of the five elements * * * appears first in the seventh century before Christ and in northwestern China, in a region at that time only recently admitted to China proper. This worship spread afterwards to other parts of the country. * * *

“In the sixth century before Christ there can be no doubt that in the countries of Sung and Tsin the brighter stars of these groups (Scorpio and Orion) were worshipped.
* * *

“It is then (6th century B.C.) that we find stars worshipped in particular cities and that the twelve signs of the Zodiac were believed to control the destinies of states. Particular stars and groups of stars were worshipped in the supposed causes of fires and such like calamities. * * * In B.C. 540 there is a more detailed account of the same worship in the *Tso chwen*, and at about the same time, in the *K'wo Yü*, we find abundant proof that the Chinese then believed that the various baronies of China were all controlled by particular stars.’’

The writer goes on to say that "fresh legends unknown to Confucius were growing up in his time on the Shantung coast which greatly extended classical records of Chinese primitive history." So, after all, the poet's dictum—"Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay"—should not be the starting hypothesis of the sober historian.

Terrien De La Couperies' *Western Origin* is quoted by Werner for his *Chinese Sociology*. In this we get evidence of the additions to, and modifications in, the classical pantheon of the World-Forces.

"Fire-worship, connected with Astrology, was established in the state of Sung, some time before B.C. 564. Various new notions about fire appeared in the 6th century B.C. * * * Among other innovations were: "A state sacrifice every year at the vernal equinox for the renewal of fire; all fire had to be extinguished three days previously and food taken cold. The rule was established for the first time in Tsin (Shansi) by the Marquis Wen (B.C. 636-27)."

It may be remarked by the bye that this is a custom observed in India even to-day.

Further, "We hear of a new worship of a deity of fire named *Hwei-luh*, and of a deity of water named *Hien Ming* in B.C. 524 in Tcheng (S. Honan)—once only, as if it were a local affair. * * * The worship of the fire-goddess *Hwei-luh* * * * has become the worship of the spirit of the hearth, the household fire-god, commonly called the kitchen-god. It was sacrificed to for the first time by Hia Futchi, keeper of the ancestral temple of the state of Lu about B.C. 600. * * * This worship was not yet an ancient institution at the time of Confucius."

The following history of the fire-deity is also interesting: "In B.C. 533 it existed in E. Honan, and in the third

century B.C. it was also flourishing in Kiangsu and Shansi. It was adopted by the Emperor himself under the Han dynasty (B.C. 133); at present it has become the most extensively worshipped divinity of China, the various names given to it show the successive and different aspects under which it was considered."

These and many other facts point inevitably to the analogy and parallelism between Chinese and Hindu religious developments as we shall show presently. In the mean time the remarks of Rhys Davids about the elasticity, flexibility and adaptability of the Hindu genius may be deduced from the history of Chinese religion: "The old gods, *i.e.* the old ideas, when they have survived, have been so much changed; so many of them have not survived at all, so many new ones have sprung into vigorous life and wide-reaching influence, that one conclusion is inevitable. The common view that the Indians were very different from the other folk in similar stages of development, that to that difference was due the stolid, not to say, the stupid, conservatism of their religious conceptions, that they were more given to superstition, less intellectual than, for instance, the Greeks and Romans, must be given up. * * * The real facts lead to the opposite view—they show a constant progress from Vedic times onwards. * * * But whatever the facts, and whatever the reasons for them, we are not likely to cease from hearing that parrot-cry of self-complacent ignorance, 'The immovable East'—the implied sop to vanity is too sweet to be neglected."

This is the greatest "idola" of the 19th and 20th centuries, for every age has its own *idola*. The sooner this superstition of the modern West regarding the Orient be

given up, the easier would be the solution of the "Inter-Racial Problems," and the better would it be for the science of Sociology. The world is in need of a Bacon equipped with the *organon* of the Historico-Comparative Method to demolish the unthinking vanities and obstinate mediævalisms of the so-called "superior races" in this the most enlightened age of Culture-History.

(c) INDIAN RELIGION IN THE AGE OF SÂKYASIMHA

Sâkyasimha was preëminently a philosopher and metaphysician. Confucius was mainly a historian and sociologist. The intellect of Confucius was not vigorous enough to come out of the struggle with the 'eternal questions' quite unscathed. He, therefore, considered it prudent to leave them "open" but did not, as we have seen, disbelieve or demolish them. He was not in any sense an agnostic like Mill or Huxley. He accommodated himself rather to the floating notions of the age.

These questions, however, were not left unattacked by the Chinese mind. Where Confucius dared not enter, some of his contemporaries were quite at home. Thus, to quote Suzuki, "there were people who believed that the cycle of birth and death is an irrevocable ordeal of nature. This life is merely a temporary abode, and not the true one. Life means lodging, or sojourning or tenanting, and death means coming back to its true abode. Life cannot be said to be better than death or death than life. Life and death, existence and non-existence, creation and annihilation, are the inherent law of nature, and the world must be said to be revolving on an eternal wheel. The wise man remains serene and unconcerned in the midst of this revolution; he lives as if not living."

These metaphysical ideas were the common ingredients in the intellectual solution of both China and India, and could not be ignored by anybody. Confucius as a weaker intellectual calmly took them for granted, but Sâkyasimha boldly set out like Laotsze and Mahâvira and thousand other Chinese and Hindu thinkers to contribute his own quota to the untying of the Gordian knot.

It has been pointed out by every scholar, Hindu as well as foreign, that there was nothing original in either the methodology or the achievement of a Sâkyasimha or a Mahâvira; they differed from the existing metaphysicians (e.g., those of *Chhândogya Upanishad* and *Sânkhya Darsana*), if at all, only in the emphasis laid on certain incidents.

Thus, as Mrs. Stevenson says, "the Jaina, in common with the Buddhists, seem to have accepted as the ground work of their belief the philosophy of the Brahman Sannyâsin. They incorporated into their faith the doctrines of transmigration and *Karma* without putting a special stamp on either, but the doctrine of non-killing (*ahimsâ*), which they also borrowed, they exalted to a position of primary importance, and they laid an entirely new emphasis on the value of austerity both inward and outward. * * * The Jaina hold that the six schools of philosophy are part and parcel of an organic whole."

We have already seen how the idea of the sacredness of sentient beings as embodied in the doctrine of *ahimsâ* was getting hold of the Hindu mind in the *Satapatha Brâhmana*. It is difficult, therefore, to believe that the founder of what has been known as Jainism ever contemplated or actually effected any revolt from the socio-religious order of the day. It is doubtful if Mahâvira was a Protestant in his metaphysics or theology.

This would be all the clearer from MacNicol's *Indian Theism*. Jainism and Buddhism are generally regarded as atheistic and agnostic, but the author points out the theistic element in both. "And yet a closer examination reveals the fact that genuine elements of the theistic tradition were present specially in Buddhism from its very inception, and that with the development of the religion these discovered themselves more and more fully. It is natural indeed that this should be the case; for those new religions did not, any more than other religions elsewhere, spring full-grown from the brains of their founders, nor are they out of organic relation to the speculation and the devotion that precede them. * * * Both Jainism and Buddhism are, after all, phases of the long Hindu development, absorbing elements from its complexity and responding to certain demands of the spirit it expresses."

The story that Sâkyasimha began his spiritual quest with lessons from the philosophers of his time and found the whole encyclopædia of contemporary Hindu culture inadequate to the hunger of his soul, points emphatically to the intimate connexion with his age. It is like the legend of Confucius' interview with Laotsze. The following account of Mahâvira's initiation is also interesting as showing the general trend of Indian thought in the sixth century B.C. : "Jainism, though it denies the existence of a creator and of the three gods of the Indian trimurti, Brahmâ, Visnu and Siva, has never shaken itself free from the belief in many of the minor gods of the Hindu pantheon. It gives these gods, it is true, a very secondary position as servants or tempters of the great Jaina saints, but their existence is accepted as undoubted; accordingly, in the account of Mahâvira's initia-

tion we shall find many of the old Hindu gods represented as being present."

We have seen that among the Celestials their classical mentality and religious consciousness expressed themselves in their entirety in the sixth century B.C.. We have examined also some of the materials which enable us to get an idea of the modifications or changes in emphasis that must have been accomplished through the age-long evolution. So in Hindusthân the religious consciousness which was exhibited in the Vedas is apparent to students of Hindu mentality in the sixth century B.C.. The continuity of the traditional metaphysics was not broken. Rather it was the age when the whole philosophic culture of the race got systematised and codified as "Schools." These schools, therefore, as embodying the past, constitute the landmarks of an old life.

Confucius believed in the god-lore of his contemporaries and subscribed unhesitatingly to the whole theological apparatus and religious laboratory of the time. Sâkyasimha, Mahâvira, and some others probably did not believe in the traditional god-lore. But the god-lore itself remained entire. It was neither demolished nor got atrophied. On the other hand, the whole Vedic Mythology came down in a more concrete and personified form. The vague became distinct, the metaphors became organisms, the words became facts. In certain cases the names of the deities changed, in others their functions changed, while a few new names were added to the list, and there was a readjustment in the position and importance of the members of the Pantheon. All this was due to the impact of history, race, place, and the people. It is exactly these modifications in Chinese religion due to the folk-element and place-element that one would like to know. We have noted some of these in the previous Sub-section (b).

The stage of development attained by the Nature-cult of the Vedists about the sixth century B.C. is thus described by Rhys Davids.

“Siri, the goddess of luck, was already a popular deity in Buddha’s time. * * *

“Our two poets are naturally anxious to include in their lists all the various beliefs which had most weight with those whom they would fain persuade. The poet of the *Mahāsamaya* (the Great Concourse) enumerates first the spirits of the Earth and of the great Mountains. Then the Four Great Kings, the guardians of the four quarters, East and South and West and North. * * *

“Then come the Gandharvas, heavenly musicians, supposed to preside over child-bearing and birth. * * *

“Then come the Nāgas, the Siren-serpents, whose worship has been so important a factor in the folklore, superstition, and poetry of India from the earliest times down to to-day. * * *

“Then come the Garulas or Garudas, the Indian counterpart of the harpy and griffin, half man, half bird. * * *

“Then come a goodly crowd of Titans and sixty kinds of gods. * * * First we have the gods of kindly nature and good character, then the souls or spirits supposed to animate and reside in the moon and the sun, * * * in the wind, the cloud, the summer heat; then the gods of light, then a curious list of gods, personifications of various mental qualities; then the spirits in the thunder and the rain, and lastly the great gods who dwell in the highest heavens. * * *

“In neither of these two lists is Indra, the great god of the Veda, even mentioned. * * *

"In the period we are considering had Sakka in his turn almost ousted Indra. * * *

"It is the same, but in each case in different degrees, with other Vedic gods. * * * Isâna, the vigorous and youthful form of the dread Siva of the future, is already on a level with Soma and Varuna. And Prajâpati and Brahmâ will soon come to be considered as co-partners with Sakka in the over-lordship of the gods. * * * The worship of Agni is scoffed at. Vâyu the wind-god * * * will soon also be the laughing stock of the story-teller. Varuna is still a power. * * * And Vishnu * * * has scarcely as yet appeared above the horizon. Pajjunna is still the rain-god in the Suttântas. * * *

"I know of no other Vedic gods mentioned in this literature. Dyaus, Mitra and Savitri, Pushan, the Adityas, the Aswius, and the Maruts, Aditi and Diti, and Urvasi, and many more are all departed."

Prof. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist India* gives the following account of the folk-religion in the sixth century B.C., which is nothing but a continuation of what we found recorded in the *Atharva Veda* and affords a striking parallelism to the classical and contemporary religious practices in China.

"We are told of palmistry, divination of all sorts, auguries drawn from the celestial phenomena, prognostication of dreams, auguries drawn from marks on cloth gnawed by mice, sacrifices to Agni, * * * oblations of various sorts to gods, determining lucky sites, repeating charms, laying ghosts, snake charming, using similar arts on other beasts and birds, astrology, the power of prophecy, incantations, oracles, consulting gods through a girl possessed or

by means of mirrors, worshipping the great one, invoking Siri (the goddess of luck), vowing vows to gods, muttering charms to cause virility or impotence, consecrating sites, and more of the same kind."

All these superstitions, or "religions of the feeble minds," or primitive sciences and primitive arts, have existed both in China and India from time immemorial and are not yet extinct in either. It may be interesting to note that "determining lucky sites," "consecrating sites," etc., form the topics of a special branch of Chinese literature called *Fung Shui*, "the science of building houses, graves, and temples under the beneficial influence of the universe." We find these ideas in later Sanskrit literature as well, *e.g.* in Varâhamihira's *Bṛihat Samhitâ* (6th century A.D.). Dr. Edkins in his *Chinese Buddhism*, and Professor De Groot in his *Religion in China* have devoted special chapters to this branch of learning dealing with *jung* (*i.e.* wind) and *shui* (*i.e.* water). The term is exactly equivalent to the Hindu conception of climate as *Jala* (water) and *Vâyu* (wind).

From the accounts of Edkins and De Groot it would appear that *Fung-shui* is really a primitive science of climatology applied to the interests of social welfare. Thus as De Groot remarks: "The influence which Heaven and its phenomena, in particular *jung shui* or 'wind and rain' exercise upon Earth is greatly modified by the configuration of the earth. This simple truth has given birth to the geomantic doctrine that hills may prevent noxious winds from striking buildings or tombs. * * * Windings and bends of rivers and brooks are objects of studious care." Students of sociology may thus be interested in *Fung-shui* as representing the primitive and

mediæval Indo-Chinese conceptions relating to the Influence of Geography on History which in modern times have been made into a science in such works as Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, Hegel's *Philosophy of History*, Buckle's *History of Civilisation* and Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*.

Georg Bühler's *Indian Studies* is quoted by Rhys Davids to indicate that the *Jātaka Stories* also point to the continuation of Vedic cult in the age of Sākyasimha and Mahāvira: "Just as the Three Vedas are the basis of the higher instruction, so the prevalent religion is that of the path of works with its ceremonies and sacrifices, among which several, like the Vājapeya and the Râjasuya, are specially and repeatedly mentioned. Side by side with these appear popular festivals, celebrated with general merry-makings and copious libations of *Sura*, as well as the worship of demons and trees, all of which go back to the earliest times. Nor are the hermits in the woods and the wandering ascetics unknown."

The Celestial and the Hindu of the sixth century B.C. lived in the same world of morals, manners and sentiments. If the Chinese happened to be in India they would not feel any distance from the natives except only in language. And if the Hindus happened to be in China they would enter into the spirit of the Chinese people in spite of the language-barrier.

SECTION 4.

ASIATIC POSITIVISM

"The whole duty of man" has been preached in every age and every clime; and conceptions of moral obligations found in all literatures are almost the same. What we in modern times are likely to regard as moral truisms or copy-book maxims abound in every holy book as the "Eightfold

Path'' or ''Ten Commandments'' or ''The Five Duties.'' It is certainly unhistorical and unphilosophical to make any such formula or *sutra* the standard by which to test the worth of the other moral systems of the world. Nor is it strictly scientific to call a doctrine ''positivism'' on the strength of a few moral passages or sayings only.

Unfortunately, this has been done with regard to the teachings of Confucius in the *Analecks* and the other works about him compiled by his disciples. If the term be applied to any inculcation of humanitarian principles or social duties and the like, every religion is surely positivistic and every human being has been a positivist.

If every instance of moral teaching were to be placed in the category of Positivism, the following Decalogue, quoted from *Sukrâniti*, a mediæval Sanskrit work, is an embodiment of Positivism:

1. Thou must not forsake your own duty in life.
2. Thou must not tell lies.
3. Thou must not commit adultery.
4. Thou must not bear false witness.
5. Thou must not forge.
6. Thou must not accept bribes.
7. Thou must not extort more than what is due unto
you.
8. Thou must not steal.
9. Thou must not oppress (commit violence).
10. Thou must not rebel (commit perfidy).

Sukrâniti I. 613-616.

Such instances of positivistic cult are to be met with here and there and everywhere in Hindu Literature.

We have seen that Confucius the historian and sociologist took the classical metaphysics for granted, but Sâkyasimha actively contributed to the fund of traditional metaphysics according to his findings. Further, Confucius accepted the theology of his people as he found it. Sâkyasimha probably did not accept his contemporary theology at all; but neither did he argue it out of existence. The old cult of 'World-Forces' thus continued its sway in both China and India, unhampered as of yore, but certainly modified according to local and tribal conditions.

Strictly speaking, Confucius the man and the historian was not an atheist or agnostic. And Sâkyasimha the philosopher and mystic was probably an agnostic, though theistic ideas may be traced even in him. But whatever technical term be applied to the life or writings or sayings of these men, that term would not be the label for the socio-religious tendency of their contemporaries; for neither of them represents his country entirely. Theism, atheism, mysticism, naturalism, monotheism, polytheism, in fact, every *ism*, existed side by side.

In spite of Confucius' faith in God, he has been wrongly classed with Positivists. His Positivism is deduced from the Socratic Dialogues illustrative of his views on all matters.

In his *Religion of China* Dr. Legge states that Confucius' "greatest achievement in the inculcation of morality was his formulating the golden rule, which is not found in its condensed expression in the old classics. The credit of it is his own. We find it repeatedly in the *Analects*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and the *Great Learning*. Tsze Kung once asked him if there were one word which would serve as a rule of conduct for all the life; and he replied, "Is not

reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."

The duties are those between ruler and subject; between father and son; between husband and wife; between elder brother and younger; and those in the intercourse between friends. These are the five duties of universal obligation. Intelligence, moral character and courage: these are the three universally recognised moral qualities of man."

This is the so-called Positivism of Confucius who never repudiated God or Divinity as an idea or ideal. However, we get here a picture of the code of morals which prevailed among the Celestials of the sixth century B.C. and has become stereotyped for all generations. This has been called by some as the Cult of "Propriety" or Good Manners. Mr. Ku Húng Ming calls it the "religion of good citizenship" in his *Spirit of the Chinese People*.

It is interesting to note that the word *Sila* in Buddhist literature is the exact equivalent of "Propriety," and that the "Eight-fold Path" described in the *Digha-Nikāya* (Sūṭa 22) contains some of the rules embodied in the Confucian Catechism. Says Hackmann in *Buddhism as a Religion*: "He who wants to get at the details of these duties may turn to writings such as *Mangala Sutta*, the *Dhammapada*, and the *Sigālawāda*. They set forth the duties of parent and child, of teacher and pupil, of husband and wife, of friend and friend, of master and servant, of laymen toward the religious institutions."

Besides, it is also remarkable that in the age when *Nirvāṇa*, renunciation, other-worldlyism, were being preached by the followers of more than one Sākyasimha and one Mahāvira, such humanitarian ethics and secular or non-mystical morality as we find in the Edicts of Asoka (3rd century B.C.) should have been predominant. But such a phenomenon should not strike as strange to those who would take

the synthetic view of socio-religious life. History does not furnish data as to the immediate influence of *Nirvâṇistic* teachings on the contemporaries of Sâkya. But what we do get, after the lapse of two hundred years, is the strong centralised Imperialism of a Chandragupta, the worshipper of Nature-Forces, and the "enlightened" Cæsaro-Papism of his grand son Asoka. Surely the Sâkyasimhans had not extinguished or enervated the political and military genius of the Hindu race.

The following has been summarized from some of the Edicts of Asoka by Rhys Davids for his *Buddhist India*:

1. No animal may be slaughtered for sacrifice.
2. Tribal feasts in high places are not to be celebrated.
3. Docility to parents is good.
4. Liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives, and to Brahmins and recluses is good.
5. Not to injure living beings is good.
6. Economy in expenditure, and avoiding disputes is good.

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 7. Self-mastery | } are always possible and excellent
even for the man who is too poor
to be able to give largely |
| 8. Purity of heart | |
| 9. Gratitude | |
| 10. Fidelity | |

11. People perform rites or ceremonies for luck on occasion of sickness, weddings, childbirth, on starting on a journey—corrupt and worthless ceremonies. Now there is a lucky ceremony that may be performed—not worthless like those, but full of fruit—the lucky ceremony of the *Dhamma*. And there is included right conduct towards slaves and servants, honour towards teachers, self-restraint towards living things, liberality to Brahmins and recluses. These things and others such as these are the lucky

ceremony according to the Dhamma. Therefore should one—whether father or son or brother or master—interfere and say: "So is right. Thus should the ceremony be done to lasting profit." People say liberality is good. But no gift, no aid is so good as giving to others the gift of the Dhamma, as aiding others to gain the Dhamma.

12. Toleration. Honours should be paid to all, laymen and recluses alike, belonging to other sects. No one should disparage other sects to exalt his own. Self-restraint in word is the right thing. And let a man seek rather after the growth in his own sect of the essence of the matter.

13. The Dhamma is good. But what is the Dhamma? The having but little, in one's own mind, of the Intoxications, doing many benefits to others; compassion, liberality; truth; purity.

14. Man sees but his good deeds, saying: "This good act have I done." Man sees not at all his evil deeds, saying: "That bad act have I done, that act is corruption." Such self-examination is hard. Yet must a man watch over himself, saying: "Such and such acts lead to corruption,—such as brutality, cruelty, anger and pride. I will zealously see to it that I slander not out of envy. That will be to my advantage in this world; to my advantage, verily, in the world to come."

The greatest and most renowned devotee of the so-called arch-pessimist of the world was also the most pronounced positivist! As Hackmann remarks: "It is so much the more interesting, to see how Buddhism works through a gifted and influential layman, full of character. All the King's inscriptions prove that he draws from his religion a strengthening of moral effort, a consciousness of duty, a devotion to public welfare." I need only point out that

the religion or morality of good citizenship, social service and humanitarianism has been in India along with, in spite of, and even in and through, every so-called *ism*. One word *Nirvâna*—does not explain three thousand years of Hindu culture.

Further, it requires to be stated that Sâkyasimha's teachings were not meant for ascetics and Rosicrucians alone. He catered for the spiritual needs of the householders and citizens as well. Such anti-domestic and anti-social statements as have been fathered upon Jesus are never recorded among the sayings of the Hindu *Nirvânist* (Queller of Misery). He came to show the path to the extinction (*Nirvâna*) of pain but did not make a *forte* of the so-called "escape from life."

The Syrian Saviour announced emphatically:

"He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me" (Matt. 10: 37).

"If any man cometh unto Me, and hateth not his father and mother and wife and children, he cannot be My disciple." (Luke 14: 26).

On the other hand, the Hindu Saviour taught the *Eight-fold Path*. The *Digha Nikâya* (Sutta 22) in Pâli language describes the "noble truth of the path leading to the cessation of misery." Warren in his *Buddhism in Translations* has given the eight terms as right belief, right resolve, right speech, right behaviour, right occupation, right effort, right contemplation, and right concentration. And all this as much for husbands and wives, as for monks and nuns.

CHAPTER IV.

The Religion of Empire-Building—Neutrality and Eclecticism

(B.C. 350—100 B.C.)

SECTION 1.

The Political Milieu

(a) IMPERIALISM AND *Laissez faire*

Confucius died in B.C. 479. The political history of China for the next two centuries and a half repeats the previous tale of feudalistic disintegration. It is the period of "contending states," as Hirth calls it, like the Heptarchy in England; and nothing of political importance can be observed till the establishment of the hegemony of Tsin state in B.C. 249. Shi Hwang Ti, the "first Emperor" of all China, began his reign in B.C. 221, which lasted only for ten years. The Tsin dynasty was succeeded by the House of Han (B.C. 210-A.D. 220) which lasted for four centuries. The sixth Emperor of this dynasty was Wu Ti who reigned for fifty-four years (B.C. 140-87), one of the most illustrious among the rulers of China.

In India Sâkyasimha died in B.C. 483. The political history of India for the next century and a half may be supposed to repeat the story of the old struggle for overlordship, though documentary evidences are wanting. But by B.C. 322, the hegemony of Magadha state is established and Chandragupta is found to be at its helm. He reigns

from B.C. 322 to 298, and his grandson Asoka from 270 to 230 as the contemporary of the First Chinese Emperor.

The period is characterised by one and the same idea in both the countries. It is the epoch of nationalism, of a strong unified rule, and of a vast Imperialistic organisation. The land of the Celestial people gets a common name 'China' from the Tsin state which is instrumental in this unification; and "for the first time in the history of India there is one authority from Afghanistan across the continent eastward to Bengal, and from the Himālayas down to the Central Provinces." The boundaries of this Indian Empire are further extended by Asoka so as to include the whole of Southern India excepting the extreme south which remains feudatory.

In external relations, also, the two countries present a striking parallelism. For the Chinese Napoleon commences at once the completion of the Great Wall to defend his empire against the inroads of the 'barbarian' Tartars or Mongols. And the Indian Napoleon commences his life-work by vanquishing the vanity of the barbarian Seleukos, the ruler of the Hellenistic Syria, who had invaded India.

The Year No. I of Chandragupta's Imperialism is his brilliant victory over this *mlechchha* (foreigner). It is with this fact that Indian political history, of which records have been preserved, really begins.

Referring to Greek invasion, however, Matthew Arnold started the superstition, now common to every westerner :

"The East bowed low before the blast

In patient, deep disdain ;

She let the legions thunder past,

And plunged in thought again."

Even Mr. Vincent Smith, who is generally very sober, devotes a disproportionately large space to Alexander's campaign in his *Early History of India*. Strictly speaking, these researches should be incorporated with the investigations of Professors Mahaffy and Bury and have no place in a textbook of Indian history. The account of Alexander's expedition may loom large to students of Greece as a World-Power but is an incubus on the students of Indian civilisation. Besides, Mr. Smith himself admits that Alexander's enterprise did not leave any impression on India.

India did not "plunge in thought again." Says Rhys Davids: "At the end of the fourth century B.C., Seleukos Nikator, then at the height of his power, attempted to rival Alexander by invading India. But he met with a very different foe. * * * Seleukos found the consolidated and organised empire of Magadha against which all his efforts were in vain. After an unsuccessful campaign he was glad to escape by ceding all his provinces west of the Indus, including Gedrosia and Arachosia (about equal to the Afghanistan of to-day), and by giving his daughter in marriage to the victorious Emperor of India in exchange for five hundred elephants of war."

Nirvânism of the Sâkyasimhas did not militate against the establishment of the Indian Empire and the triumph over a foreign foe. About B.C. 300 India was not only a first-class power but the first power of the world, and Pâtaliputra, the capital, was the centre of gravity of the international system. The Hindus maintained this position unrivalled for a full century. It was only towards its close that Chinese Imperialism began to share with the Indian the same importance as a World-Power. Roman Imperialism

was not yet conceived. Neither Sianfu, nor any of the Alexandrias, nor Rome, could thus vie with Pâtaliputra in its political prestige and diplomatic importance.

A natural concomitant of Imperialism both in China and India was the spirit of eclecticism and *laissez faire* in matters religious. It may seem to be a paradox to say that Shi Hwang Ti, the 'Burner of the Books,' was not possessed by a Papal doctrine of "Infallibility," and that he was not a bigot but a tolerant monarch. It is true, however, that this destroyer of Confucian literature was not a despiser of the Confucian morality and theology. He was a Confucianist of Confucianists for he respected the Classical gods and also added some to their list. He was really an enemy of the *literati*, those obscurantists, whose "words, words, words" stood in the way of his mission. A nation-maker cannot afford to be a dogmatist, a strict follower of the letter, for it is the "letter that killeth." The Chinese Napoleon, therefore, abolished the Confucian dogma, but preserved its spirit, viz., the Cult of World-Forces. The Confucian pedantocracy represents, as I have said, the last link of an old chain, not the first of a new.

The first link of the new chain could be forged by a man who, like Alexander, knew how to harmonize the folk-customs and traditions with all the speculative tendencies of his time, and harness them all to the great work of Empire-building. The burner of the classics was himself a Classicist and also a Taoist. It is thus a far cry from Confucius to Shi Hwang Ti. The *Zeitgeist* of the 3rd century B.C. was represented not by the "Perfect Sage" but by the "First Emperor." This spirit of toleration and synthesis was noticeable also in the Han Emperor Wu Ti who was at once a patron of Confucianists as well as of Taoists.

Professor Fenollosa in his *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* draws almost a similar picture of the first Chinese Imperialist: "He brought the past consciously to an end, because he wished to rebuild with new stones; thus causing the burning of all past books, especially those which dealt with the endless disputations of the Confucian and Taoist philosophers. If there were any philosophy at all in this brief meteoric career, it was a sort of Nietzscheism backing raw freedom and force against formalism."

In fact, like the European and American of to-day addressing the Chinaman, Shi Hwangti may be imagined as having addressed the manes of the Great Sage thus:

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Confucius, Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

The same tendency is observable in India also. The great monarchs Chandragupta and Asoka were no hidebound pedants. Whatever their personal faiths, they knew that their function was not to advocate one or other of the prevailing *isms*, but to elaborate a new Imperialistic creed which should be quite independent of all. Their mission was not to be fulfilled by making the State subordinate to one or other of the speculative systems of the age. The *Zeitgeist* was therefore represented not by *Nirvāṇism*, or *Yogaism* or *Upanishadism*, or *Jainism*, but by the policy of let-alone and non-intervention so far as the people's views were concerned. The State cared solely for the systematic carrying out of a propaganda according to the financial, economic, political and militaristic teachings recorded in the *Arthashastra** of Kautilya.

* This difficult Sanskrit work has been translated into English by Mr. R. Shamashastry for the Mysore Government and its materials utilised by Mr. Naren Law in his *Hindu Polity*.

(b). HINDU *Bushidō* AND *Indono Damashii*.

We do not know exactly what was the personal faith of Chandragupta. The followers of Mahāvira claim him for a Jaina. According to Hackmann in *Buddhism as a Religion*, "Chandragupta himself was not a Buddhist; he was on far more friendly terms with the Brahmans, and it was the same with his son Bindusâra." And those modern scholars, who take their cue from a Schopenhauer, a Matthew Arnold and a Kipling in trying to understand India, need note that Megasthenes, the Head of the Hellenistic Embassy at Pâtaliputra, observed nothing of the so-called Nirvânism, quietism and pessimism. Says Hackmann: "From the fragments of them * * we learn as to matters of importance very little about Buddhism. Megasthenes names the Buddhists as 'Sramanai,' and says that they were opposed to the 'Brahmanai.' But his description of their mode of life is vague, and he seems to mix the Buddhists up with other Indian sects."

This was perfectly natural, because Megasthenes came with his eyes open. He was not obsessed by any preconceived theory. He had not also the hypothesis of his own race as being superior. Rather he knew that he was living as a guest of the first power of the world. By the test of war Megasthenes the Greek belonged to an inferior race—he was the ambassador from a humiliated second-class power.

So in Pâtaliputra, the city of the East, this representative of the West noticed not the predominance of any non-secular and transcendental speculation but the apotheosis of Imperialism and all-round Eclecticism. The morality of the age can be expressed in the terms of *Sukrantti*, which,

though a later compilation, does really represent the *Niti* or rules of life that have been prevalent since the age of Kautilya. The following is a translation from the Sanskrit texts edited by Gustav Oppert for the Government of Madras :

"Even Brahmanas should fight if there have been aggressions on women and priests or there has been a killing of cows. * * * (IV. vii. 599.)

The man who runs away from battle is surely killed by the gods. * * * (IV. vii. 601).

The life of even the Brahman who fights when attacked is praised in this world, for the virtue of a Kshatriya is derived also from Brahma. (IV. vii. 606-7).

The death of Kshatriyas in the bed is a sin. The man who gets death with an unhurt body by excreting cough and biles and crying aloud is not a Kshatriya. Men learned in ancient history do not praise such a state of things. Death in the home except in a fight is not laudable. Cowardice is a miserable sin. (IV. vii. 606-13).

The Kshatriya who retreats with a bleeding body after sustaining defeat in battles and is encircled by family-members deserves death. (IV. vii. 614-15).

Kings who valorously fight and kill each other in battles are sure to attain heaven. He also gets eternal bliss who fights for his master at the head of the army and does not shrink through fear. (IV. vii. 616-19).

People should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed in battles. The man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains heaven. (IV. vii. 620-21).

The fairies of the other world vie with each other in reaching the warrior who is killed in battles in the hope that he be their husband. (IV. vii. 622-23).

The great position that is attained by the sages after long and tedious penances is immediately reached by warriors who meet death in warfare. (IV. vii. 624-25.)

The rascal who flies from a fight to save his life is really dead though alive, and endures the sins of the whole people. (IV. vii. 656-7).

When the Kshatriyas have become effete, and the people are being oppressed by lower orders of men, the Brahmins should fight and extirpate them (IV. vii. 666-7).''

This *Kshatriyaism* is *Bushidō* according to Japanese notions, Chivalry in mediæval European phraseology, militarism in modern parlance. You may call this the spirit of Sparta, or if you like, Prussianism.

Another aspect of Hindu Chivalry is being described from the authoritative *Laws* of Manu, the Moses of India. This work is generally recognised as older than Chandragupta and may be as old as Sâkya (though, in its present form, probably as late as fourth century A.D.):

“Let the soldier, good in battle, never guilefully conceal

(Wherewithal to smite the unwary) in his staff the treacherous steel;

Let him scorn to barb his javelin—let the valiant never anoint

With fell-poison juice his arrows, never put fire upon the point.

In his car or on his war-horse, should he chance his foe
to meet,

Let him smite not if he find him lighted down upon his feet.

Let him spare one standing suppliant, with his closed
 hands raised on high,
 Spare him whom his long hair loosen'd blinds and
 hinders from to fly,—
 Spare him if he sink exhausted; spare if he for life
 crave;
 Spare him crying out for mercy, 'Take me, for I am
 thy slave.'
 Still remembering his duty, never let the soldier smite
 One unarm'd, defenceless, mourning for one fallen in
 the fight;
 Never strike the sadly wounded—never let the brave
 attack
 One by sudden terror smitten, turning in base flight
 his back;
 He, that flying from battle, by his foe is slaughter'd
 there,
 All the burthen of his captain's sin hereafter shall he
 bear."

The translation is by Griffith. In these declarations by the Hindu International legists of Manu's School at least 2500 years ago we seem to be reading the latest resolutions of the 'Concert of Europe' at their Hague Conferences and the pious wishes of Peace-apostles like Carnegie.

As with Chandragupta, so with Asoka the contemporary of Shi Hwang-Ti. It is a far cry from the dogma of the historic Sâkyasimha to the *Dhamma* proclaimed by Asoka. Besides, Asoka was a nationalist, i.e., an Imperialist first, and a follower of *Dhamma* afterwards.

Imperialists must necessarily be neutral in religious policy and eclectic in personal life unless they choose to fail like a Philip II of Spain, a Louis XIV of France, an Aurangzib

of India, or a James II of England. Asoka's Edicts are therefore neither the fiery fulminations of ban and anathema and a Bull of excommunication;—nor the autocratic proclamations of a so-called state-religion such as was embodied in the Inquisition, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Re-imposition of the Jizya, or the arbitrary Declaration of Indulgence. They are the sober and sedate expressions of a social-service-propaganda and a universal moral sense to which nobody in the world could object. Like his Chinese contemporary, Asoka was harsh towards pedants, e.g., the Brahmans, and did not like their sacrifices, but had no objection to Brahmans as such. Rather, he made toleration an important article of his faith.

Such religious neutrality, toleration and eclecticism have been exhibited by the Asoka of Modern Asia. Mutshuito the Great of Japan is inspired by the same sanity of good sense and liberalism in his formulation of the Educational Rescript which characterises the "Meiji" Era or Epoch of "Enlightenment" in *Dai Nippon*. Like the "enlightened despot" of the third century B.C. the Mikado assumes the position of a schoolmaster. The picture is that of an Emperor, with a *ferula* in hand, administering to the whole empire as to an elementary school homœopathic doses of common-sense morality. The Proclamation is in the right patriarchal style,—comparable in its austere dignity and earnestness with the historic edicts of the Indian Emperor, and breathes the simple eloquence of the "Ten Commandments" though there is no mention of God in it:

"Know ye, Our subjects,

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; our subjects ever united in loyalty and

filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our Empire, and herein also lies the source of our Education. Ye, our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by their descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

This Imperial *Michi*, i.e., "Way" or *Tao* or *Magga* is neither Shintōism nor Confucianism, nor Buddhism, nor Christianity, and yet in a sense it is all. In fact, here is *Yamato Damashii*, the spirit of Japan. So also the *Dhamma* of Asoka embodies *Indono Damashii*, the spirit of Hindu-sthān rather than any *ism*. It is not necessary to connect or identify Asoka's creed or "way" with any of the isms of his day. Like one of his illustrious successors, Akbar the Great, he may be credited with having founded a new faith. Philosophically speaking, it was a practical morality evolved

eclectically out of the thousand and one isms floating in the air. Historically, it may be traced to the positivistic element of Sâkyasimha's teachings or to the same element in others' teachings as well. Rhys Davids observes: "The doctrine, as an ideal, must have been already widely accepted. * * * But how sane the grasp of things most difficult to grasp! How simple, how true, how tolerant, his view of conduct and life! How free from all the superstitions that dominated so many minds, then as now, in East and West alike!"

In personal life Asoka may have been a daily reciter of Pâli Tripitaka and a monk of the Sâkyan Order. But the statecraft enunciated in his *Dhamma* was not Sâkyaism. The *Dhamma* was a distinctively new force meant to govern the life and thought of the day. To ignore this is to ignore the laws of social evolution and ignore the philosophy of history.

It is absurd to suppose that Shintôism or Buddhism explains modern Japan. It is absurd to believe that the primitive Christian doctrine, e.g., "The Kingdom of God is within you," had any significance in Mediæval Europe when Guelphs and Ghibellins were flying at each others' throats in every city and every state. It is childish to think that modern Germany can be understood solely on the strength of such terms as the Classicism of a Goethe, the Idealism and Romanticism of a Fichte and a Pestalozzi, or the *Zollverein* of a Frederick List, without reference to all that the name Bismarck connotes. It is equally absurd to try to explain China and India of the third century B.C. and after by ignoring the Napoleonism of Shi Hwangti and the Machiavellism of Kautilya and the *Dhamma* of Asoka.

Chandragupta, Asoka, Shi Hwangti and Wu Ti are at least as powerful names in culture-history as Sâkyasimha, Mahāvira, Confucius and Laotsze. They were, in fact, the great protagonists in the drama of contemporary life, having pushed every other character into the back-ground. The old super-annuated doctrines were given the go-by in the *denouement*; so that to the post-Mauryan Hindus and the later Hans the "new sun rose bringing the new year." There was no longer a Sâkya the moralist, but a Buddha the god, one of those whom Sâkya had most probably repudiated. No longer a Confucius the librarian-sage of Loo, but a Confucius the god, a colleague of Shângti.

SECTION 2.

Internationalism

(a) WESTERN ASIA AND INDIA

A most striking feature of this epoch both for China and India is its pre-eminently international and cosmopolitan character. The origin of this internationalism is, however, due neither to the Hindus nor to the Chinese, nor even to their western colleagues the Hellenes, but to one who was a "barbarian" to all these peoples. This was the Macedonian Alexander.

The ever-fighting city-states of Greece could not protect their freedom against the monarchical resources of Alexander's father, nor did they present a united front against him. So Alexander succeeded Philip to a rich conquest. With him the old spirit of Hellas had no charm. He had no Hellenic traditions. He began his life-work, therefore, by abolishing, first, the republican form of government, and secondly, the parochial nationalisms of the people. Then he

started on a world-conquest which was as much intellectual as physical. To students of science his expedition looks like the campaign of modern anthropologists, archæologists and naturalists. The pupil of Aristotle had mastered his comparative, historical and inductive methods quite well, though he rejected his system of city-states. So throughout his expedition he never forgot to bring about social and marital alliances between East and West, and to facilitate comparisons between facts of the same order by founding libraries, museums, gardens, etc. The whole route began to be dotted with Alexandrias, the nucleuses of race-mixture, culture-fusion, and wedlock between Asia and Europe, the ganglionic centres of an all-round eclecticism.

Alexander with his world-sense was altogether a new phenomenon in history. This conscious internationalism was a new force and left its stamp on Western Asia, Egypt, and Greece, the principal field of its application, and to a certain extent on India and China. For centuries after the premature death of Alexander in B.C. 320 the spirit of Alexander dominated every part of Asia and Europe. Signs of the bridging of the gulf attempted and partially achieved by this greatest of idealists need be read (though with great caution) in every important item of world's pre-Christian Culture.

It seems that Chandragupta had caught something of the great conqueror's internationalism, while a mere adventurer in the Punjab. Hence his acceptance of the daughter of Seleukos as wife. The marriage of a Hindu monarch with a Greek princess was an epoch-making event in Indian history like the expulsion of the foreigner. But such marriages were not few and far between in those days. It was probably an epoch of inter-racial marriages.

Metropolitan life, e.g., at Pâtaliputra, was intensely international. Its position as the diplomatic centre of the world naturally made it the headquarters of foreign Embassies. Rhys Davids suggests the following picture: "And with the princess and her suite, and the ambassador and his, not to speak of the Greek artists and artisans employed at the court, there must have been quite a considerable Greek community, about B.C. 300, at the distant city on the southern bank of the Ganges." Mr. Vincent Smith remarks in his *Early History of India* that "the Maurya Empire in the 3rd century B.C. was in constant intercourse with foreign states, and that large numbers of strangers visited the capital on business." Further, "all foreigners were closely watched by officials who provided suitable lodgings, escorts, and in case of need, medical attendance." According to this scholar, Hindu intercourse with Persians was greater than that with Greeks.

Internationalism inaugurated by Chandragupta continued under his successors. According to Lloyd in *The Creed of Half Japan*, while Bindusâra (B.C. 297-272) "was on the throne, the king of Egypt sent an embassy, under a certain Dionysus, to Pâtaliputra; and on one occasion he wrote a letter to Antiochus, king of Syria, asking to have a professor of Greek sent to him. Greek writers speak of him * * * that he adopted the Sanskrit title *Amitraghâtî*, the slayer of his foes."

Asoka also was a great internationalist. He cherished the ambition of being a world-monarch. In the 13th edict we read of his embassies to the kings of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus, and Kyrene, to the Cholas and Pandyas in South India, to Ceylon and to the peoples dwelling on the borders of his empire. The missionaries sent out by him to

various parts of the world were as much secular as religious—at once the St. Augustines, Alcuins and Sir Thomas Roes of Hindusthân. Himself combining the functions of a Cæsar and a Pope, Asoka's 'legates,' those 'hands and eyes,' were necessarily the plenipotentiaries and consul-generals for his empire.

Mr. Lloyd gives a detailed account of Asoka's missionary activity. "These sovereigns and peoples Asoka addresses mainly on two subjects—care for the health and welfare of the people, and 'true conquest' over themselves and their passions." He refers to the "Greek merchants trading and travelling in India, whose votive inscriptions have been found in ancient Buddhist temples in the peninsula."

We read:—"It was to Antiochus I. (of Syria) that Asoka had applied for assistance as to medicinal herbs.
* * * In the wars which Antiochus I. waged against the Gauls and Celts * * * he had used elephants which he, like his contemporary, Pyrrhus of Epirus, had obtained from Asoka's father, Bindusâra. * * *

Macedonia must have been full of men who had been in Central Asia and India in those days of constant coming and going, and there must have been a great interest taken in things Indian. * * *

Among the dialogues of Aristippus the founder of the Cyrenaic School of Philosophy, there was one which bore the name of Porus, a name well known among Indian kings. * * *

Alexandria was connected with India by at least three routes. A certain amount of the overland traffic from China came into Alexandria *via* Palestine (which was in the

Egyptian sphere of influence), and even the superior attractions of Antioch could not kill this commerce, which was, however, more Central and Eastern Asian than Indian. A further contingent of caravans brought in Indian goods *via* the Persian Gulf, Palmyra (later) and Palestine. The Egyptian ports in the Red Sea had direct communication, without any serious rivals, with the Indian ports at the mouth of the Indus."

Internationalism must have continued during the post-Asokan times also. For Sewell remarks in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II. on the commerce of the period from B.C. 200 to A.D. 250: "There was trade both overland and by sea with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt, as well as with China and the East. * * Pliny mentions vast quantities of specie that found its way every year from Rome to India." And for the same period in Northwestern India there was great intercourse with Rome during the ascendancy of the Kushans.

(b) CENTRAL ASIA AND CHINA.

The early history of the intercourse of China with foreigners is not yet clear. Scholars like Lacouperie have been assiduous in proving the connexion of the Celestials with the Hindus, Persians and Babylonians from pre-Sâkyan and pre-Confucian times. Astrological notions, totemistic practices and some of the superstitions, as well as the whole Taoistic metaphysics and 'hocuspocus' have been traced to foreign sources. Even the theory has been started that the first Emperor Shi Hwang Ti, the contemporary of Asoka, "was in some way connected" with the Maurya Dynasty of India. And there is a tradition that Buddhism first came to China about B.C. 217.

Incontestable evidences are not forthcoming. Hence Hirth, the great authority on the ancient period of Chinese history, is sceptical about any foreign relations of China before Wu Ti's time. And yet he is compelled to criticise himself thus:

"We possess the most plausible arguments for the introduction of foreign influences in Chinese culture at the time when relations with Western Asia were opened under the Emperor Wu Ti at the end of the second century B.C.; but if we examine numerous facts still on record as referring to times immediately preceding the Wu Ti period we are bound to notice that changes of a different kind had come over the Chinese of this as compared with those of the Confucian and pre-Confucian periods. The growing influence of foreign elements from Tsin in the west, Chau in the north, and Chu in the south may account for this. * * * Lau-tzi, as a native of the state of Chu, was born and probably brought up among the southern barbarians."

Further:—"Altogether, readers of the history of Chau, as represented in Ssima-Tsien's account, will receive the impression that it contains various prognostics of that important change in cultural life which became dominant in the age of Tsin Shi Hwang Ti; namely a Tartarised China, the traditional Confucian views of life having been supplanted by Tartar, Scythian, Hunnic or Turkish elements, elements that, whatever name we may give them, had grown out of the national life of Central Asiatic foreigners."

Just as Western Asia plays an important part in Indian history of the 3rd century B.C., so Central Asia, *i.e.*, the regions to the west of China, plays an important part in her

history of the period. And Central Asia is also the connecting link between India and China. Wu Ti formed an alliance with the Yueh Chi or Indo-Scythians against the common enemy, the Huns. Later, to quote Gowen, "the great generals carried the arms of China into Western Asia, caused the banners of Eastern Empire to meet the banners of Rome on the shores of the Caspian, and made a way for the merchants of China to carry their silk and iron into the markets of Europe."

The following is from Parker's *China*: "A great revolution in thought took place about two centuries before our era; the time coincides with the conquests of the Parthians, and it is possible that Græko-Roman civilisation was affected by the same wave that influenced China—whatever it was. At all events, there was a general movement and a simultaneous expansion in the world all the way from Rome to Corea. The result was that China now first heard of India, Buddhism, and the Parthians."

Eitel's *Buddhism* also may be quoted; "Chinese armies had been fighting a series of campaigns in Central Asia and had repeatedly come into contact with Buddhism established there. Repeatedly it happened that Chinese generals, engaged in that war, had occasion to refer, in their reports to the throne, to the influence of Buddhism.

Laurence Binyon in his *Painting in the Far East* speaks of the same foreign intercourse in the following terms:

"In B.C. 200 the Chinese seeking markets for their silk opened communication with Western Asia. A century later the Emperor Wu Ti sent a mission to the same

regions. Greek designs appear on the earliest metal mirrors of China. It is possible that in the Chinese fable of the Paradise of the West the myths of the Greeks may be reflected.’’

The whole epoch beginning with Alexander's accession to the Greek throne and extending for at least three centuries may be presumed to have been one in which race-boundaries were being obliterated, cultural angularities were being rounded off, people's intellectual horizon was being enlarged, and the sense of universal humanity generated. It was a time when the Aristotelians, Platonists, "Cynics" and Stoics were likely to meet the Apocalyptists, Zoroastrians, Confucianists, Taoists, *Nirvāṇists* and Yogaists on a common platform,—when the grammarians and logicians of Alexandria were probably comparing notes with the *Pāṇinians* and *Darsanists* of India, when the herbalists of Asia Minor could hold debates with the Charakan *Āyurvedists* of Hindusthān, when, in one word, culture was being developed not from national angles but from one international view-point and placed as far as possible on a universal basis. The courses of instruction offered at the great Universities of the world, e.g., those at Honanfu, Taxila, and Pāṭaliputra, the Alexandrias, and Athens, comprehended the whole encyclopædia of arts and sciences known to both Asia and Europe.

The *līterati*, *bhikṣhus*, magi and *sanyāsins* of the East met the mystics, sophists, gnostics and peripatetics of the West at out-of-the-way inns or caravanserais or at the recognised academies and seats of learning. 'Universal-Races-Congresses' and International Conferences of Scientists may have been matters of course, and every man who was of any importance—Hindu, Chinese, Persian, Egyptian, Greek—

was necessarily a student of world-culture and a citizen of the world. This intellectual expansion influenced the social systems also in every part of the civilised world. Inter-racial marriages may be believed to have been things of common occurrence, and everywhere there was a *rapprochement* in ideals of life and thought. The world was fast approaching a common consciousness, a common conscience and a common standard of civilisation.

A picture of this fusion of cultures though for a subsequent period is given by Laurence Binyon in his chapter on *Early Art Traditions in Asia*:

“What then do we find in this little, remote kingdom in the heart of Asia? We find sculpture and paintings, we find heaps of letters on tablets of wood; odds and ends of woven stuffs and furniture; and police notices on strips of bamboo. * * * The police notices are in Chinese. The letters are written in a form of Sanskrit. But the string with which the wooden tablets are tied is sealed with a clay seal; and in most cases the seal is a Greek seal, the image of an Athena or a Heracles. Here, then, we touch three great civilisations at once: India, Greece, China. * * *

If we ask ourselves what affinities these paintings reveal, with what art we can connect them, * * * we are reminded of features in Indian, Persian, Chinese and Japanese Painting. * * *

Will the sculptures tell us more? They at once remind us of other sculpture. * * * We see what seems a Greek Apollo; and then little by little the Greek features become more Indian; Apollo transforms himself into a Buddha.”

The marriage of Asia with Europe—that meeting of “the twain” which is never to be—was thus an accomplished fact in every department of human culture at least 2200 years ago!

SECTION 3.

General Culture

(a) PHYSICAL AND POSITIVE SCIENCES

The intellectual turmoil of the period, in which there was no monopoly of any one system of thought, is thus described by Hirth in his *Ancient History of China*: “That unsteadiness characteristic of political life in the fourth century B.C., which knew of no equilibrium among the contesting powers and which caused even conservative minds to become accustomed to the most unexpected changes in politics, was coupled with a hitherto unprecedented freedom of thought in the ranks of thinkers and writers. The most heretical views on state and private life were advanced and gained public adherence.”

According to the “Complete Edition of the Philosophers that lived prior to the Tsin Dynasty” compiled during the Ming Dynasty about A.D. 1600, “the minor philosophers are divided into Confucianists, Taoists, writers on government, Mihists (adherents of Moti, the philosopher of universal love), criss-cross philosophers, *i.e.*, those who teach the dialectic art of defending opposite views in politics, and miscellaneous celebrities.”

These accounts should make one cautious about trying to sum up the whole age by any convenient term. Among the master-minds of the age, Hirth mentions the pessimist Yang Chu “one of the most original thinkers China has

produced," Moti, "whose teachings are diametrically opposed to those of Yang Chu," who, besides, represents the *Zeitgeist* in his "revolutionary independence of old Chinese tradition," Mencius, who upholds the teachings of Confucius against the upstarts and expands them by applying them to economic and political problems, and Chuangtzi, the greatest mystic exponent of Taoism and arch-enemy of the Confucianists.

Mr. Giles observes in his *Chuangtzi, Mystic, Moralist and Social Reformer*: "Against these hard and worldly utterances, Chuangtzi raised a powerful cry. The idealism of Laotsze had seized upon his poetic soul, and he determined to stem the tide of materialism in which men were being fast rolled to perdition."

The literary activity of India also during this period shows a remarkable versatility. It was not an epoch of mere prose, if there was ever any exclusively prosaic age in India, nor was it one in which cold philosophical intellectualism prevailed. Neither did it produce solely the so-called religious literature—nor was it swamped by the publications of Sâkyasimhan moral tracts. The literature of the age was a perfect mirror of its many-sided enterprise and exhibited the eclecticism and comprehensiveness of its social *milieu*.

In the *Kâmasûtra*, a Sanskrit work on Erotics by Bâtsâyana of the second century B.C., there is an enumeration of 32 *vidyâs* or sciences and 64 *kalâs* or practical arts known to the Hindus. It need hardly be said that during the period we have been considering all these were pursued. The 32 branches of learning are enumerated below :

1. Vedas	4
2. Upa-vedas (science of life, archery, music and science of divination, totemism, sorcery, etc.)	4
3. Vedângas (Phonetics, Philology, Rituals, Etymology, Astronomy and Prosody)	6
4. Darsanas (Systems of Philosophy)	6
5. Itihâsa (History)	1
6. Purâna, dealing with cosmogony, history of the ruling dynasties, etc.	1
7. Smriti (Socio-legal, Socio-economic and Socio-religious treatises) .. .	1
8. Scepticism ("Rationalism which advocates the origin of all things from Nature [not from God] and repudiates the authority of the Vedas'")	1
9. Arthasâstra (Economics and Politics) ...	1
10. Kâma Sâstra ("which describes the marks of living beings both male and female, e.g., of men according to their physical character, and of women according to external and internal characteristics) ...	1
1. Silpa Sâstra ("which treats of the construction of palaces, images, parks, houses, canals and other works'")	1
12. Alankâra (Rhetoric)	1
13. Kâvya (Poetry)	1
14. Deshabhâshâ (vernacular language)	1
15. Avasarokti ("which teaches the proper use of words at the proper time'")	1

16. *Yavana* philosophy ("foreign" systems of thought, "which recognise God as the invisible creator of this universe, and recognise virtue and vice without reference to the Vedas and post-Vedic classics, and which believe that the Vedas embody a separate religious system.") 1

The above list gives a schedule of the courses of instruction offered at the Imperial Universities of India in those days. It need be remarked that the botany, zoology, physiology, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, etc., of the Hindus of the pre-Christian era compare favourably with the researches of Theophrastus and his fellow-Aristotelians and the Alexandrian investigators. The physical sciences of the Hindus were not surpassed by the European scientists of even a very late age, *e.g.* Vesalius, Stahl, Brunfels, etc.. The contributions of the ancient and mediæval Hindus to physical science must be a fascinating subject to students of the history of world-culture. Learned monographs on the subject have been issued by Professors Roy and Seal of Calcutta.

Along with the physical sciences in which medicine and chemistry occupied the lion's share, the scholars of India certainly continued the compilation, editing and annotation of the philological and philosophical classics. The workers in all these fields of investigation were Brahmanical, Jaina as well as Sâkyan, and the seats of learning were the *Parishats*, academies, monasteries or *vihâras*. The chemists, physiologists, logicians and grammarians came from all sects.

At least three special classes of moral and theological literature must have necessarily grown up to cater for the

needs of the people following the three prominent systems of metaphysics. It is said that the Jaina Canon was fixed at Pâtaliputra by a council of monks convened by Sthulabhadra early in the 3rd century B.C..

Mrs. Stevenson remarks: "The council fixed the canon of the Jaina Sacred literature, consisting of the eleven *Anga* and the fourteen *Parva*. It seems likely that the books were not committed to writing at this time, but were still preserved in the memories of the monks. The action of the council would thus be limited to settling what treatises were authoritative."

The dialect used by the Jainas for their sacred texts was *Prâkrit*, the language spoken by Mahâvira and his monks. Sanskrit came to be in vogue later. So also during this period the Sâkyaśimhans used for their sacred writings the Pâli dialect, very much allied to the Jaina. But Sanskrit was the language adopted by those who founded Buddhism or the Buddha-cult in subsequent times.

The following verses on the Duty of Kings are translated by Griffith from Manu's *Laws*, a Sanskrit work popular during the period under review:

"He that ruleth should endeavour with his might and main to be

Like the Powers of God around him, in his strength and majesty:

Like the Rain-God in due season sendeth showers from above,

He should shed upon his kingdom equal favour, gracious love;

As the sun draws up the water with his fiery rays of
 might,
 Thus let him from his own kingdom claim his revenue
 and right;
 As the mighty wind unhinder'd bloweth freely where
 he will,
 Let the monarch, ever present with his spies all places
 fill;
 Like as in the judgment Yama punisheth both friends
 and foes,
 Let him judge and punish duly rebels who his might
 oppose.
 As the moon's unclouded rising bringeth peace and
 calm delight,
 Let his gracious presence ever gladden all his people's
 sight;
 Let the king consume the wicked—burn the guilty in
 his ire,
 Bright in glory, fierce in anger, like the mighty God
 of Fire,
 As the General Mother feedeth all to whom she giveth
 birth,
 Let the king support his subjects, like the kindly
 fostering Earth."

These lines describe the divine attributes that the king
 possesses, for the king, according to statesmen of Manu-cycle
 is a "great god in human form." The Chinese and Shintō
 conceptions of the king being 'a son of Heaven' have their
 counterpart in Hindu tradition as well.

(b) METAPHYSICAL THOUGHT

We find in *Confucianism and its Rivals*: "One point
 specially to be noticed is the persistence, even where
 cobwebs of mysticism hang most thickly, of the old ideas of
 a personal if not anthropomorphic god."

The ideas of Chwangtsze, the most brilliant Taoist, the contemporary of Mencius, are thus described by Suzuki: "When we come to Chuangtsze the world of relativity was felt like a big pen; he left it behind him in his ascent to the realm of the Infinite, and there he wished to sleep an absolutely quiescent dreamless sleep. This was his ideal. He was, therefore, more radical than Laotsze in his transcendental idealism."

Chinese mentality approaches the Hindu so much that Gowen is led to remark about this transcendentalist: "He plainly reflects in his writings, which have much charm, an Indian influence, as in the closing lines of his poem on *Peaceful Old Age* :

"Thus strong in faith I wait and long to be
One with the pulsings of Eternity."

This "Eternity" of Chuangtsze is thus described in Giles' *Confucianism*: "We are sometimes confronted with a psychological unity instead of a concrete personality. With Chuang-tsze all things are one, and that One is God, in whose obliterating unity we are embraced. * * * Therefore, we are advised to take no heed of time, nor of right and wrong, but passing into the realm of the Infinite, *i.e.* of God, to take our final rest therein. Contraries, he explains, cannot but exist, but they should exist independently of each other, without antagonism. Such a condition is found only in the all-embracing unity of God; in other words, of the Infinite Absolute."

The *Tao-te-ching*, the most famous mystical work of this period, may be regarded as a Chinese *Gîtâ*. The following Chinese sayings could be illustrated by parallel passages from Sanskrit:

1. Keep behind and you shall be in front. Keep out and you shall be kept in.

2. Mighty is he who conquers himself.

3. Do nothing, and all things will be done. I do nothing, and my people become good of their own accord.

4. He who is content has enough.

5. He who is conscious of being strong is content to be weak.

Such Taoistic mysticism was imported to England by Carlyle from German Transcendentalists with the celebrated preamble: "Close thy Byron, open thy Goethe." His advice, "Make thy numerator zero, and the quotient will be infinite," is Taoism!

The following declaration of Chuangtse about the method of finding the 'real nature of things' could be equally made by a contemporary Hindu: "Be free yourself from subjective ignorance and individual peculiarities, find the universal Tao in your own being, and you will be able to find it in others, too, because the Tao cannot be one in one thing and another in another. The Tao must be the same in every existence, because 'I' and the 'ten thousand beings' grow from the selfsame source, and in this oneness of things we can bury all our opinions and contradictions."

Taoism of the period under discussion has such remarkable features in its doctrine, that, as says Suzuki, "a foreign origin has been suspected, which claim satisfactorily solves the question of its striking resemblance to Hindu philosophy. They even go so far as to suggest the Brahmin descendancy of the Yellow Emperor Laotsze and other unknown Taoist thinkers."

In any case it is clear that both in India and China the environments were getting closer and closer to each other.

The *Tao-te-ching* supposed to contain the sayings of Laotsze is generally believed by sinologues to be a compilation of the second century B.C.. The Celestials of that age could therefore easily interpolate the Hindu *Gita* in their literature. The following verses translated from Sanskrit by Griffith would be at once recognised as Taoistic :

“Mourn not for them, O Arjun! for the Wise
Grieve for none living, weep for none that dies;
Nor thou, nor yonder princes were not,
For ever have they been, though changed their lot,
So shall their being through all time extend,
Without beginning, and without an end.
The vital spirit in this mortal clay
Lives on through youth, from childhood to decay;
And then new forms the fleeting souls receive—
Why for these changes should the hero grieve?
Know that what is can never cease to be,
What is not can be never—they who see
The mystic Truth, the Wise, alone can tell
The nature of the things they study well,
And be thou sure the mighty boundless soul,
The Eternal Essence, that pervades this whole,
Can never perish—never waste away,
The Indestructible knows not decay.
Frail though its shrine, undimm'd it lasts for ever,
The bodies perish—That can perish never;
Up then, and conquer! in thy might arise!
Fear not to slay it, for it never dies.”

Thus the most highly mystical syllogism is led up to the most practical climax—that of slaying the enemies. This is the “Natural Supernaturalism” of Carlyle crystallised in the formula: “Always do the Duty that lies nearest thee.” It may be remarked, by the bye, that the whole *Gita*, known to be the abstrusest and most other-worldly treatise in Hindu literature, was delivered by the Lord Himself on the battlefield of Kurukshetra, the greatest Armageddon conceived in world’s literature. This certainly is Positivism and Secularism with vengeance.

(c) IDEALISM AND SUPERNATURALISM IN LITERATURE

Literature of the age (Tsin and Han) bears evidence of the idealistic tendency of the Chinese mind. According to Giles’ *History of Chinese Literature*, “the poetry which is representative of the period between the death of Confucius and the second century B.C. is a thing apart. There is nothing like it in the whole range of Chinese literature. * * * Poetry has been defined by the Chinese as ‘emotion expressed in words.’ * * * Poetry, they say, knows no law. And again, ‘the men of old reckoned it the highest excellence in poetry that the meaning should lie beyond the words.’ ”

Mr. Werner quotes the following from the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society* from which it would appear that the Confucian age of prose was followed by an era of romanticism: “The Confucian age produced no poetry brilliant enough to be preserved. * * * The *literati* did not encourage it. * * *

From B.C. 312 onward much poetry was written and an unbroken succession of poets maintained a position of

influence in the literary firmament. * * * Chu Yuan * * took pleasure in adding Taoist ideas which then prevailed in that part of China where he lived."

Further, "the mythology and supernaturalism of the times after Confucius were a powerful factor in originating the school of poetry which Chu Yuan and his fellow poets of the third century B.C. united to establish. It operated on their minds as it did on the minds of Chuantszi in prose. * * * Our poet gave himself up to be under the control of legend and fancy, and at the same time, was swayed by the most sincere and deeply laid loyalty and love of country. His fondness for vigorous conceptions, the rapidity of his transitions, his luxuriant imagery, the evident pleasure felt by him in personification of the elements, the agreeable balance of his sentences, the impetuosity of his style, and the richness of his vocabulary are features that command our literary admiration, while his depth of sincerity and patriotic eagerness ensure our moral sympathy."

The following lines of Chu Yuan on 'the land of exile' in his *Li Sao* ("Falling into Trouble") are quoted from Cranmer-Byng's *Lute of Jade*:

"Methinks there's a genius roams in the mountains,
Girdled with ivy and robed in wisteria,
Lips ever smiling, of noble demeanour,
Driving the yellow pard, tiger-attended,
Couched in a chariot with banners of cassia,
Cloaked with the orchid, and crowned with azaleas;
Culling the perfume of sweet flowers, he leaves
In the heart a dream-blossom, memory-haunting.
But dark is the forest where now is my dwelling,
Never the light of day reaches its shadow.

Thither a perilous pathway meanders.
Lonely I stand on the lonelier hill top,
Cloudland beneath me, and cloudland around me.
Softly the wind bloweth, softly the rain falls,
Joy like a mist blots the thought of my home out;
There none would honour me, fallen from honours.
I gather the larkspur over the hillside,
Blown mid the chaos of boulder and bell-bine;
Hating the tyrant who made me an outcast,
Who of his leisure now spares me no moment:
Drinking the mountain spring, shading at noon day
Under the cypress my limbs from the sun glare.
What though he summon me back to his palace,
I cannot fall to the level of princes.
Now rolls the thunder deep, down the cloud valley,
And the gibbons around me howl in the long night.
The gale through the moaning trees fitfully rushes.
Lonely and sleepless I think of my thankless
Master, and vainly would cradle my sorrow."

Thus, neither in Confucius' time nor since has China been only Confucius 'writ large.' To understand the Chinese people of any age we must not allow ourselves to be possessed by Confucian pedants.

It is unfortunate that we have very few fragments of earliest Jaina literature, but specimens of earliest Pali literature are copious. Some of these may be regarded as the common storehouse of ballads, legends, sayings, and myths out of which Buddhist, Jaina, Vaishnava, and Shaiva epics, dramas and story-books were built up. The following remark of Rhys Davids opens up the Maurya age before our minds' eye very vividly: "It is interesting to notice

that, just as we have evidence at this period of first steps having been taken towards a future epic, so we have evidence of the first steps towards a future drama—the production before a tribal concourse on fixed feast-days of shows with scenery, music and dancing. There is ample evidence in the Buddhist and Jaina record, and in Asokan inscriptions, of the existence of these *Samajjas*, as they were called, as a regular institution:”

During this period Sanskrit, however, was not neglected. It remained the language of scholarship and of the traditional Brâhmanists and Upanishadists and was destined to be the language of the adherents of the two new orders also. In the meanwhile it became the vehicle of high class poetry, which, according to the Hindus, is “impassioned speech” (*Kāvyaṃ rasâtmakam vākyaṃ*). This Wordsworthian idea is shared with them by the Chinese.

The following verses about the birth of Râma illustrate the influence that the supernatural was exerting on the people’s mind at the time. The translator is Griffith.

“ With costly sacrifice, with praise and prayer,
Ayodhyâ’s King had claimed from Heaven an heir ;
When from the shrine, where burnt the holy flame,
Scaring the priests, a glorious angel came,
With arms that trembled as they scarce could hold
A flood of nectar in a vase of gold :
A weight too vast for even him to bear,
For Vishnu’s self, the first of Gods was there.
With reverent awe the Lord of Kosal’s land
Received the nectar from the angel’s hand,
As erst Lord Indra from a milky wave
Took the sweet drink that troubled ocean gave.

Soon as the queens had shared that mystic bowl,
 Hope, sure and steadfast, filled each lady's soul.
 They saw, in dreams, a glorious host who kept
 Their watch around them, as they sweetly slept.

* * *

Proud waxed the monarch, as each happy queen
 Told the bright visions that her eyes had seen :

* * *

As many a river lends its silver breast
 Where the calm image of the moon may rest,
 So in the bosom of each lady lay
 That God, divided, who is one for aye.

* * *

The babes were born : then sin and sorrow fled,
 And joy and virtue reigned supreme instead.
 For Vishnu's self disdained not mortal birth,
 And heaven came with him as he came to earth.
 Once more the regions, where each guardian lord
 Had quailed before the giant he abhorred,
 Were cheered with breezes pure from dust and stain,
 And freed from terror hailed a gentler reign.
 The fire was dimmed by cloudy smoke no more,
 And the sun shone untroubled as before."

Students of Biblical literature would notice in these old Hindu verses the Messianic conception that was crystallising itself about the first century B.C. into a definite shape in the *Psalms of Solomon* (XVII. 23-25);

" Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them
 Their King, the son of David,
 At the time in which thou seest O God,
 That he may reign over Israel Thy servant,

And gird him with strength that he may
 Shatter unrighteous rulers,
 And that he may purge Jerusalem from
 Nations that trample her down to destruction."

The rhapsodists of the Vālmīkian cycle sang verses like these to millions of men and women, teaching them the doctrine of *Avatāra* (human incarnation of Divinity) and reciting the story of the advent of the Messiah. During these very times the poets and monks of the Sākyaśimhan order were building up the materials for similar Messiah-legends about the great teacher of the sixth century B.C.. Sākyaïtes and Rāmaïtes represent the same Indian mentality from slightly different angles. The Hindu sculptures of the period, *e.g.*, those at Bharhut, tell the same tale; for in these we find scenes from the Sanskrit *Rāmāyana* forming motives, decorative as well as didactic, together with the legends described in the Pali *Jātakas*. We see both in literature and art how the historical Sākya and the semi-historical Rāma were simultaneously getting deified in people's imagination. The same emotionalism and romanticism were at work in both.

CHAPTER V.

The God-lore of China and India under the First Emperors

(B.C. 350-100)

SECTION 1.

Progress in Hagiology and Mythology.

(a) INVENTION OF NEW DEITIES

We have noticed the continuity and growth of the pre-Confucian Cult of World-Forces in Confucius' time. The development continues along the same lines after Confucius too. During the latter half of the Chou Period and the succeeding epoch of Imperialism we can observe the progress of this pluralistic godlore.

According to La Couperie, "there was a remarkable dualist worship established in Tcheng in B.C. 524 to *Hwei-luh*, god of light and fire, and *Hien Ming*, god of darkness and water, then known in Chinese Mythology for the first time. * * * It was the custom at Yeh in the state of Wei in Honan to give a wife to the river-god, Hopel, annually by throwing a girl into the river. It was suppressed during the reign of Marquis Wen of Wei, B.C. 424-387. * * * It was the custom in the state of Lu, at the above date, in time of drought, to leave a person exposed to the sun, to die of thirst and hunger. * * *

The worship of the fire-goddess *Hwei-luh* was adopted by the Emperor in B.C. 133 and afterwards became that of the kitchen-god."

Mr. Werner quotes the *China Review* (XII. 417) from which it is apparent that the worship of the five emperors "was not completed till the Han Dynasty, the second century before Christ." "The worship of the five emperors was still more developed in the Tsin and Han Dynasties."

The God of Literature (Wen T'i) was, like the God of War, "called into being by an Imperial Mandate," as the writer in the North China Branch of Royal Asiatic Society's Journal (vi. 31-3) remarks.

The First Emperor perpetrated vandalism on the Confucian Classics and the *literati*, but he was himself a great patron of the orthodox religion which they represented. For he was the innovator of the worship of Mt. Tai in Shantung, which is now a part of the popular faith. Mt. Tai has since then been the most important of the five sacred mountains of China. As Giles observes, "it is, in fact, a divinity manifesting itself from time to time under human form. * * * The chief favours sought from the mountain were (1) rain and fine weather in due season, in order to produce abundant crops for the farmer, and food for the people at large; (2) protection from earthquakes, thunder-storms and such dangers as were supposed to be connected with the appearance of comets, eclipses and other natural phenomena."

The worship of Mother Earth as a deity is also described by Giles in this connexion: "The soil with its apparent powers of yielding or withholding its vegetable products, became a god—a fifth among the cluster of family-deities, the gods of the kitchen-stove, of the well, of the front door, and of the parlour."

In India, also, during this period, the people were inventing new deities exactly like the Chinese.

The following verses, in Waterfield's translation, describe how the new god Shiva compelled recognition from those who had been used to the earliest Vedic deities :

Daksha for devotion made a mighty feast;
Milk and curds and butter, flesh of bird and beast,
Rice and spice and honey, sweetmeat, ghee and gur,
Gifts for all the Brahmans, food for all the poor.
At the gates of Gangâ Daksha held his feast;
Called the gods unto it, greatest as the least.
All the gods were gathered round with one accord,
All the gods but Umâ, all but Umâ's lord.
Umâ sat with Shiva on Kailâsa hill;
Round them stood the Rudras watching for their will.

* * *

Wroth of heart was Umâ; to her lord she spake:—
“Why dost thou, the mighty, of no rite partake?
Straight I speed to Daksha such a sight to see:
If he be my father, he must welcome thee.”

* * *

Spake the Muni Daksha, stern and cold his tone:—
“Welcome thou, too, daughter, since thou com'st alone.
But thy frenzied husband suits another shrine;
He is no partaker of this feast of mine.”

* * *

Words like these from Daksha, Daksha's daughter
heard;

Then a sudden passion all her bosom stirred:
Eyes with fury flashing, speechless in her ire,
Headlong did she hurl her 'mid the holy fire.

* * *

Hushed were hymns and chanting ; priests were mocked
and spurned ;

Food defiled and scattered ; altars overturned.

* * *

Prostrate on the pavement Daksha fell dismayed :—

“ Mightiest, thou hast conquered ; thee we ask for aid.”

* * *

Bright the broken altars shone with Shiva's form ;

“ Be it so !” His blessing soothed that frantic storm.

—Indian imagination thus brought to the forefront a new god who had been in the background in Vedic, post-Vedic and Sâkyasimhan times. The worship of Shiva in the form of *lingam* (phallus) is taken as a matter of course in the *Mahâbhârata*. Fundamentally the worshippers of world-forces, the Hindus like the Chinese can manufacture a god every ten years.

The Hindus of the Maurya and post-Maurya epoch had other things to do besides the creation of gods and goddesses. And when they did care for the creation of gods and goddesses they were not exclusively bent upon elaborating the traditions of the Sâkyasimhan cycle. We have noticed how in Sâkyasimha's time the old Nature-deities had been getting definite shapes and were being transformed into more or less new divinities. Some of these have been mentioned and described with illustration in Grünwedel's *Buddhist Art in India*. The process went on during the post-Sâkyan era also and gave rise to all the gods and goddesses known to us in the *Râmâyana*, *Mahâbhârata* and some of the *Purânas*. Râma-cult, Krishna-cult, Vishnu-cult and Shiva-cult, in fact, all the cults and all the mythologies which were to have powerful influence on Indian character in subsequent times may

be said to have formed themselves during this period. It is difficult to trace the successive stages in the Hindu mythologies as it is difficult to fix a date for every Chinese god. But it may be asserted with tolerable certainty that the epoch of the Mauryas and their successors was the formative period of the later Buddhist, Brâhmanic and Jaina saint-lore and godlore. So that towards the end of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the first century A.D., we witness the emergence of Shaivism, Buddhism, Vishnuism, Jainism, etc., as more or less full-fledged religious systems with all the paraphernalias of ritualism known to mediæval and modern Hindus.

(b) SIMULTANEOUS DEVELOPMENT OF DIVERSE
GOD-LORES.

It is superfluous to observe that the folk-ideas about animals, trees, fetishes, etc., continue to develop along the usual lines as in previous centuries. Changes in myths and superstitions, whether they be regarded as animistic or taoistic or primitive, must not be ignored in any account of Chinese Religion during this period.

The "Calendrical mode of life" goes on as ever. "The propitious days are named on which to contract marriages or remove to another house or cut clothes: days on which one may begin works of repair of houses, temples, ships or commence house building by laying the upper beam of the roof in its place by means of a scaffolding, or putting up the first pillar; days on which one may safely undertake earth works, bathe, open shops, have meetings with relations, and friends, receive money; days on which one may sow or reap, send one's children to school for the first time, bury the dead, etc." (De Groot).

The following account of the first Emperor's Taoistic leanings from Gowen's *Outline History* is a good picture of the prevailing eclecticism in Chinese Society: "During the Tsin dynasty the Emperor was wont to expound Taoism to his courtiers and caused those who yawned to be executed. Tsin Shih Hwang Ti, the 'Burner of the Books' was an ardent Taoist and sent a famous expedition to Japan in search of the *Elixir Vitæ*." And the facts that the first sovereign of the Han dynasty was also much devoted to Taoism and the hierarchy of Taoist Popes dates from about this time, point inevitably to the conclusion that the Chinese mind was as elastic as ever in socio-religious beliefs inasmuch as it never recognised the monopoly of any.

The following extract from De Groot's *Religion in China* is another illustration of the tendencies of the time:

"As early as the time of the Han Dynasty, Taoism had grown to be an actual religion with a pantheon with doctrines of sanctity, with ethics calculated to teach sanctity, with votaries, hermits and saints, teachers and pupils." About the Han Emperor Wuti (B.C. 140-87), whose long reign of fifty-four years was one of the most splendid in the whole history of China, Gowen remarks: "He did much to promote the study of the re-discovered Confucian classics, * * * displayed in his later life a great devotion to the superstitious and magical rites of Taoism and is said to have been the author of the so-called 'Dew-receiving vase' in the belief that the drinking of the dew thus collected would secure immortality."

Thus Confucius and Laotsze flourish side by side. It is impossible to make a bipartite or tripartite division of Chinese mentality and study each separately. Likewise it

is misleading to represent Hindu religious consciousness as divided into water-tight compartments, *e.g.*, of Vaishnavism, Shaivaism, Jainism and Buddhism.

The following history of Jainism given by Stevenson is typical of every Indian *ism*: "As the Jaina laity had been drawn away from Hinduism by their adhesion to Mahâvira, they were left without any stated worship. Gradually, however, reverence for their master and for other teachers, historical and mythical, passed into the adoration and took the form of a regular cult. Finally, images of these adored personages were set up for worship, and idolatry became one of the chief institutions of orthodox Jainism. The process was precisely parallel to what happened in Buddhism. It is not known when idols were introduced, but it was probably in the second or first century B.C."

The simultaneous growth of Taoism and so-called Confucianism during Tsin-Han period is paralleled by simultaneous growth of all the isms in contemporary India:

"The third and second centuries B.C., must have been a period of great activity amongst the Jaina. Under Asoka the religion is said to have been introduced into Kashmir. Under Suhastin, the great ecclesiastical head of the order in the second century, Jainism received many marks of approbation from Samprati, grandson of Asoka. Inscriptions show that it was already very powerful in Orissa in the second century and in Mathura in the northwest in the first century B.C."

It is interesting to note that the Brahmanist Chandragupta, the first Emperor of India, is claimed by the Jainas as an adherent of their faith, exactly as the first Chinese Emperor was a patron of both the cults of his time. Again

in the 3rd century B.C., there is reported to have been a Council of Jainas held to fix their Canon. Sâkyasimhans also are credited with having had a Council of their own about the same time.

The parallel development of Jainism, Buddhism and other Indian isms can be lost sight of only to misunderstand the working of the forces that made the actual life of the Hindus in the pre-Christian era. In their zeal to prove an ascendancy of Buddhism during certain ages of Indian history, some scholars have minimised the actual position and importance of the Vedic and Brahmanic rites. They have also totally ignored the existence of other powerful cults, *e.g.*, Jainism, and the faith of the "folk" which has been the parent of all new-fangled ideas in every epoch. For the culture of Hindusthan has been the making, not of the princes and rulers alone, nor of the scholars, philosophers, moralists, priests, *bhikshus*, or monks alone, but of the people and the lower orders as well. The 'folk-element' in Hindu civilisation has yet to be studied. The more it is studied the more would it be clear that the origin and development of Indian religious systems owes a great deal to the imagination and inventiveness of the dumb millions. This can be said equally about the folk-element in Chinese culture as well as Japanese.

However, the following remarks of Mrs. Stevenson give an idea of the common fund of convention out of which all the founders of Indian religions have drawn, and explain why it is so important not to dogmatise about any age as being dominated by a certain *ism*: "The lack of knowledge on the part of early scholars which accredited all *Stupa* and all cave-temples to Buddhists, robbed Jainism for a time of its earliest surviving monuments. It is only recently, only in fact since students of the past have realised

how many symbols, such as the wheel, the rail, the rosary, the *svastika*, etc., the Jaina had in common with the Buddhists and Brahmanas that its early sites and shrines have been handed back to Jainism. * * * Jaina and Buddhist art must have followed much the same course, and the former like the latter erected stupa with railings round them in which to place the bones of their saints. But such has been the avidity with which everything possible has been claimed as Buddhist that as yet only two *stupas* are positively admitted to be of Jaina origin."

Asoka had been harsh to the Brahmanical sacrificers as Shi Hwangti was to the Confucian literati but neither could and did extirpate them. So the old cult of the World-Forces was not dead during their rule. In fact a vehement pro-Brahmanic and anti-Asokan propaganda began about B.C. 184, when the last of the Mauryas was put to death by a popular general Pushyamitra. It was signalled by the *Aswamedha* or horse-sacrifice. The religion of sacrifices and Nature-deities thus ran smooth both in China and India.

(c) DEIFICATION OF MEN AS *Avatâras*

Meanwhile Confucius and Laotsze the rivals in lifetime begin to wax prominent in the pious thoughts of their adherents and admirers. They become first saints or sages, then gods. It is difficult to trace the whole process of heroification and deification. But evidences of Chinese imagination gradually constructing out of these two historic personalities 'things that never were on sea or land' are not wanting.

Ssu-ma Chien the historian, who lived in the second and first centuries B.C., thus records his opinion about Confucius. "Countless are the princes and prophets that

the world has seen in its time; glorious in life, forgotten in death. But Confucius * * * remains among us after many generations. He is the model for such as would be wise. By all, from the son of Heaven down to the meanest student, the supremacy of his principle is fully and freely admitted. He may indeed be pronounced the divinest of men." Even in this ecstatic eulogy Confucius is not yet a god, but only a 'hero,' to use Carlyle's language, or the more recent 'Super-man.' But he will soon have a shrine, then a temple, and be adopted into the pantheon of *Shangti*.

The same historian mentions the following about Lao-tsze's adherents: "Those who attach themselves to the doctrine of Lao-tsze condemn that of the *literati*, and the *literati* on their part condemn Lao-tsze." On this Dr. Legge remarks in *The Religions of China*: "The students of the Tao had * * become a school distinct from the adherents of the orthodox Confucianism, and opposed to and by them. But there is no account of Lao-tsze's deification, nothing of his pre-existence."

This is, however, the opinion of one who belonged to the opposite party. In any case we see here both Confucius and Lao-tsze in that stage at which their godhood is in what may be called the "period of gestation." They are already saints and surely gods-on-probation.

A picture of the thoughts that were moving in the Chinese mind of the later Chou, Tsin and Han periods would come up before our mind's eye if we only notice what is going on among the Hindus of to-day.

To mention only a few names from among the Indian celebrities who have worked in the field of religion, morals and social service during the last century. Râma-mohana and Dayânanda are already *avatâras* or incarnations

of God to their devotees. Devendranâth, the father of the 'knight-poet' Sir Rabindranâth Tâgore of *Gitanjali* fame is a *maharshi*, i.e. a Great Sage; Râm Tirath is, if not anything more, at least a saint. Vivekânanda, the Nietzschean Energist, is a demi-god; and his *guru* or spiritual preceptor, Râmkrishna *Paramahansa* is nothing short of a god occupying almost the same rank as Râma, Buddha, Krishna, etc. And there are hundreds of others who have been receiving homage as saints, *avatâras*, gods in *esse* as well as in *posse*. They have temples consecrated to them and are worshipped if not yet in stone-images, at least in oil-paintings. These have their following not only among the women and the half-educated masses who in every age and every clime have contributed to the building up of the world's hagiology and mythology, but also among Justices of the High Courts, Barristers of the British Inns, botanists, engineers, chemists, medical men, journalists, social reformers, political agitators, educationists, theists, monotheists, and of course, atheists and positivists with their *New Calendars of Great Men*.

The doctrine of *Avatâra* (i.e. the idea of Divinity embodying itself in human beings to save mankind), which has been the bedrock of later Indian life and thought, must have been developed during the Maurya and post-Maurya epoch. It was utilised by the Vaishnavaites (Krishnaïtes), Râmaites and even Sâkyaites and Mahâvirites. The birth-stories, called the *Jâtakas* in Pali language, deal with the previous births of Sâkyasimha the Buddha; and the *Tirthankara*-legends of the Jainas in Prakrit language deal with their own Messiahs. Both have their future *avatâras* too.

All these are derived from the same stock of tales about the past and future saviours of mankind which had been floating in the atmosphere of India in those days. The orthodox Brahmanical version, in Sanskrit language, of these incarnation-myths is to be seen in that huge encyclopædia of Indian beliefs, practices, superstitions, arts, and sciences known as the *Mahâbhârata* and also in some of the Purânas. It has to be noted also that the great theory of *Yugântara* (or Cycles, at the end of which the Divinity incarnates itself to found a new *Zeitgeist*) is enunciated in the *Gîtâ*, which is only a chapter of the encyclopædic *Mahâbhârata*. The pre-eminence of Krishna in the *Gîtâ* is an aspect of the Vaishnavite environment noticeable in the multifarious contents of the huge work.

Neither Sâkyasimha nor Mahâvira has any place in the whole *Mahâbhârata* literature. But both of them have been receiving almost the same homage as these gods among their own adherents.

It need only be added that whatever be the date of the final form in which we have the *Mahâbhârata*, some of the stories related in it describe facts and phenomena of pre-Sâkyan ages, and a great portion of the verses must have been composed during the post-Sâkyan, Maurya, post-Maurya but pre-Christian centuries. The same remark can be made about the Râma-legends compiled by the *Vâlmîkian* bards.

The development of godlore was thus proceeding on the same lines among the Celestials and the Hindus. The two peoples were approaching an identical consummation. The religious imagination of the Chinese is made of the same stuff as that of the Indians.

The types of Perfection or Highest Ideals which were being evolved both in China and India during the previous millennium at last began to crystallise themselves out of the spiritual solution and emerge as distinctly individualised entities. The Classical World-Forces supplied the basic foundation of these types or entities. Folk-imagination in brooding over the past and reconstructing ancient history had sanctified certain historic personalities, legendary heroes or eponymous culture-pioneers, and endowed their names with a halo of romance. Philosophical speculation had been groping in the dark about the mysteries of the universe and had stumbled upon the One, the Unknown, the Eternal, the Infinite. Last, but not least, are the contributions of the "lover, the lunatic, and the poet" who came to weld together all these elements into artistic shapes, 'fashioning forth' those "Sons of God"—concrete human personalities to embody at once the man-in-God and the God-in-man. In the *Avatârahood* of every superintendent of the *Zeitgeist*, e.g., that of a Confucius or a Laotsze, a Râma, or a Krishna or a Buddha or a Mahâvira, the philosophical historian has to read at once the same ethnic, physical, legendary, mystical and imaginative factors of the Indo-Chinese world.

SECTION 2

Images as Symbols

(a) IN CHINA

According to De Groot, the Confucianists are idol-worshippers and Confucianism is "a system of idolatry." Of course it is too late in the day to repeat that the worship of idols in China, Japan and India, whether Buddhistic, Taoistic, Jaina, Vaishnava, Shaiva, or Shâkta is not worship of 'stocks and stones.' As Johnston says in *Buddhist*

China: "In the East as in the West there are many people who are, or believe themselves to be, incapable of dispensing with all sensuous aids to religious imagination, and who find in outward signs and emblems a means of preserving undimmed within their hearts and minds the light of a lofty spiritual ideal. * * * The image or sacred picture is merely a symbol of divinity. * * *

"No sanctity attaches to images and pictures as such, their sole use is to stimulate the religious imagination and to engender feelings of veneration for the spiritual reality of which they are an imperfect expression. * * * The image serves its purpose if it helps to bring the human spirit into communion with the divine, but it is rightly to be regarded as a means and not as an end."

The so-called Confucian idolatry is thus described by De Groot: "It represents the gods, even Heaven and Earth, by wooden tablets inscribed with their titles, and some of them by images in human form. These objects it holds to be inhabited by the gods themselves, especially when, as always occurs at sacrifices, the spirits or *shen* have been formally prayed to or summoned with or without music, to descend and take up their abode therein. * * *

Its ritual, based on the Classics, was codified during the Han dynasty. * * *

The images of gods exist by tens of thousands, the temples by thousands. Almost every temple has idol gods which are of co-ordinate or subordinate rank to the chief god. * * * For the mountains, rocks, stones, streams and brooks which the people worship, images in human form are fashioned, to be dedicated to their souls, that these may dwell therein."

This can stand as a correct picture of the religious systems of the folk in Japan and India also.

It would be interesting to know exactly when image-worship began to occupy a place in Chinese religious consciousness. There are reasons to believe that like every other item of socio-religious life, image-worship was autochthonous in China and not imported from abroad. The legend of the first image of Buddha being placed by the king in a temple which already had other images would indicate this. This was in 121 B.C.

Dr. Legge in his paper on Taoism in *The Religions of China* remarks: "Indeed it was not till after the image of Buddha was brought to the capital in A.D. 65 that images or statues of Confucius and other great men of the past began to be made."

* This does not seem to be correct. For images and representations of deities have been prevalent in China since 4th century B.C.. Terrien de La Couperie observes that a name of the Fire-goddess about that time was "A'z", which is the tuft or coiffure of a Chinese lady, the deity was then represented as a beautiful woman dressed in red. Her worship was recognised * * * by Kao-tsu, the first emperor of the Han dynasty in B.C. 204." (*Western Origin* pp. 160-1 quoted by Werner).

Images have existed in China before the Celestials came into contact with the Hindus.

The personifying and concretising tendency of the Chinese mind would also be evident from the cosmogony of the Celestial people described in *Chinese Repository* (iii. 55): "The warm influence of the *Yang* being

condensed produced fire; and the finest parts of fire formed the sun. The cold exhalations of the *Yin*, being likewise condensed, produced water; and the finest parts of the watery substance formed the moon. By the seminal influence of the sun and the moon, came the stars."

The following is taken from Davis' *Chinese* ii. 67-8:

"The above might, with no great impropriety, be styled, 'a sexual system of the universe.' They maintain that when from the union of the *Yang* and *Yin* all existences, both animate and inanimate, had been produced, the sexual principle was conveyed to, and became inherent in, all of them. Thus heaven, the sun, day, etc., are considered of the male gender; earth, the moon, night, etc., of the female. This notion pervades every department of knowledge in China."

It requires but a single step to come from this materialising tendency to the *iconising* of the Nature-Energies or World-Forces. In fact, the images that have been already formed through poetry, legends, ballads and folk-songs have only to be transferred to the sculptor and the painter. Images are images whether expressed through the medium of sounds as in literary and musical arts, or through that of sights as in the sister plastic and pictorial arts. The very moment that a hymn has been sung, and a piece of poetry composed, the idea has become embodied, the invisible visible, and "airy nothings have got a local habitation and a name." Idol-worshipper every man has been, every man is, and every man will be—so long as man is a speaking animal.

During the period under review, Confucius had been slowly extending an empire over the heart of the Celestials.

He was not yet formally deified but there were signs that he would soon have a place with the gods, as an assistant of Shâng Ti. The process of this heroification and deification does not seem to have been clearly described by any scholar. But by the end of the first century A.D., says Giles in his *Confucianism*, "the birthplace of Confucius had become a goal for the Confucian pilgrim; a shrine had been built there, and even Emperors found their way thither, to do honour to the great Teacher." Soon there would be images, and tablets and rituals for Confucius the god as for the gods described in the Classics by Confucius the historian. To quote Giles: "In 505 A.D., the first Confucian temple, as we now understand the term, was built and dedicated. Images of Confucius were then introduced into the temple, some say for the first time; others hold that in A.D. 178 a likeness of Confucius had been placed in his shrine, a substitute for the wooden tablet in use up to that date. * * * Gradually, the people came to look upon Confucius as a god to be propitiated for the sake of worldly advantages."

Confucianism ultimately becomes like the modern Hindu Shaivism, Vaishnavism, etc., the cult of Confucius as a Deity, a Nature-Force or Energy. So that even without Buddhism the Celestials are like the Indians in religious conceptions.

In China as in India the course of cultural evolution had passed through almost the same stages. About 3rd century B.C., we see that landmark at which the Arts of Poetry and Music requisitioned the Arts of Sculpture and Painting to assist them in being handmaids to Religion. The mythology which had up till then been elaborated only by poets and singers began now to be enriched and receive a new character

in bronze, clay, stones, and ink. The master-minds of the age thought not only in words but also in metals and *kakemonos*. Henceforth we have to decipher the signs of Chinese religious consciousness in the world of hieroglyphics and picture-writings as well as in the realm of bas-reliefs, statuettes, drawings, pencil-sketches, and fully-wrought images and portraits. In the history of every religion the thinkers in bronze and canvas demand as much attention as the intellectuals of letters. So the *literati* alone, whether Confucian, Taoist or Buddhist, must not be our sole guides as interpreters of Chinese Religion after the fourth century B.C..

(b) IN INDIA

In his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* Mr. Vincent Smith quotes Prof. Percy Gardner to modify his own statement that the "history of Indian art begins with Asoka." Gardner's words are: "But there can be no doubt that Indian art had an earlier history. The art of Asoka is a mature art." No specimens of images, however, whether Hindu, Buddhist or Jain, have been yet discovered to illustrate the religious sculpture of the Asokan age.

It is probably in the post-Asokan Bharhut *stupa* (3rd.-2nd cent. B.C.?) that we come across the first Indian images. The following is quoted from Cunningham's *Stupa of Bharhut* by Vincent Smith: "Besides these scenes, which are so intimately connected with the history of Buddhism there are several bas-reliefs which seem to represent portions of the history of Râma during his exile. There are also a few scenes of broad humour in which monkeys are the chief actors.

Of large figures there are upwards of thirty alto-rilievo statues of Yakshas and Yakshinis, Devatās, Nāga Rājas. * * * We thus see that the guardianship of the north was entrusted to Kuvera, King of the Yakshas, agreeably to the teaching of the Buddhist and Brahmanical cosmogonies. And similarly we find that the other gates are confided to the Devas and the Nāgas."

The image of Sirimā, the goddess of Luck, comes also from this age. In modern mythology *Sri* or *Siri* is the consort of Vishnu.

Rhys Davids remarks about this image: "It may be mentioned in passing that we have representations, of a very early date, of this *Siri*, the goddess of Luck, of plenty and success, who is not mentioned in the Veda. One of these is marked in plain letters *Sirimū Devatā*; and like Diana of the Ephesians, she bears on her breast the signs of her productivity. The other shows the goddess seated with two elephants pouring water over her. It is the oldest instance of the most common representation of this popular goddess."

Grünwedel in his *Buddhist art in India* also gives a similar story.

The following is taken from *The Heart of Jainism*: "It was during this time (c. 397 B.C.) that the two sects of Osavāla Jaina and Srināla Jaina arose. It is also said it was now that the image of Mahāvira was enshrined at Upakesā Pāttana. This is probably a reference to the first introduction of idol-worship into Jainism."

Smith begins his treatment of post-Asokan sculpture with the following remark:

"A detached pillar standing to the northeast of Besnagar has been invested with special interest by the recent discovery of a long concealed inscription on the base which records the erection of the monument in honour of Vishnu by Heliodoros, son of Dion, envoy from the great king Antalkidas of Taxila to a local prince. Antalkidas is supposed to have reigned about B.C. 170. The inscription states that the column was crowned by an image of Garuda, the monstrous bird sacred to the god."

The following is quoted by Smith from Cousens about the gateways at Sanchi which also represent post-Asokan but pre-Christian art: "The faces, back and front of the beams and pillars, are crowded with panels of sculpture in bas-relief representing scenes in the life of Buddha, domestic and silvan scenes, processions, sieges, adoration of trees and topes, etc."

Images of Buddha do not occur at this period, which is represented by Besnagar, Bodhgaya, Bharhut, and Sanchi. "The early artists did not dare to portray his bodily form * * * being content to attest his spiritual presence by silent symbols—the footprints, the empty chair and so forth."

In the Sanchi sculptures "we see the worship of a Nāga spirit represented by an image of the hooded cobra housed in a shrine with a domical roof. It is possible that the object of worship may be Buddha himself sheltered by the hoods of Muchalinda, the Snake King. The Real Presence of Buddha in these sculptures is always indicated symbolically."

"A relief of unknown origin depicts * * * the famous visit of Indra to Buddha seated in a cave." The specimen dates "probably from the first century B.C.."

Some Jaina bas-reliefs in Orissa, "the oldest of which date from the second century B.C.," describe a procession in honour of Pârswanâtha, the precursor of Mahavira as the founder of Jainism.

The oldest image of Buddha is a battered seated figure at Tantrimalai in Ceylon, wearing a conical cap, and is believed by Mr. Parker, author of *Ancient Ceylon*, to "date from about the beginning of the Christian era."

The following is quoted from the *Chinese Recorder* ii. 1:

"In the reign of King Wu (B.C. 140-86) of the West Han Dynasty a (gigantic) gold image of Buddha was brought (in B.C. 121) to China (forming part of the spoils of these campaigns) and set up in the sweet spring temple. This served as the model according to which the images of Buddha were afterwards made. King Hi of the same dynasty (B.C. 6 to A.D. 1) sent learned men to search for images and books of the Buddhist religion but they returned without having reached their destination."

Giles also in his *Confucianism* refers to the tradition that in B.C. 121 an image of Buddha was secured for the first time. "This is further said to have been taken by a victorious Chinese general from a Hun chieftain who was in the habit of worshipping it. A later history says that when the Emperor received the image, he had it placed in the palace among some other images, all of which averaged about ten feet in height. He did not sacrifice to it, but merely burnt incense and worshipped it with prayer."

The history of Indian art would thus indicate that in Asoka's time Sâkyasinhâ was being deified and worshipped as the *Buddha*, the Buddha-cult was recognised as the other cults e.g., *Vishnu-cult*, *Râma-cult*, etc., but

the paraphernalia of worship did not probably include an icon. In the post-Asokan age, *i.e.*, the second century B.C., there were images of gods and goddesses, saints and *avatāras*, Brahmanic as well as non-Brâhmanic. But the real age of Image-worship had not yet come. It can be safely stated, however, that the religious consciousness was fully ripe for it, and that this aid to religion was to be exploited by the follower of every cult as soon as sculptors and painters were able to supply their handiworks in large number. The moment came towards the end of the pre-Christian and beginning of the Christian era, when the Graeko-Roman artists were firmly established in the north-western hinterland of India.

It has to be observed, finally, that image-worship has passed through the same stages both in India and China, and the process of deification of Confucius and Laotsze is exactly parallel to that of Sâkyasimha and Mahāvira. The recognition of Confucius as a god to be worshipped like other gods through an image is a few centuries later than that of his more favoured colleagues of India. But images as symbols of divinity have been synchronous among the two peoples.

CHAPTER VI.

The Birth of Buddhism

(B.C. 150—A.D. 100)

SECTION 1.

Introduction of Buddha-cult into China.

(a) CHINESE ROMANTICISM.

Historically speaking, Buddhism was introduced into China under Mingti, the Han Emperor, in A.D. 67. There are legendary traditions of the Celestials having had knowledge of the new faith in Chou times and at least since the time of the first Emperor, the contemporary of Asoka. The traditions do not seem to have been thoroughly unhistorical in view of the fact that the Maurya Emperor (c B.C. 250) was a great internationalist and was always ambitious to extend the Indian sphere of influence in every direction, and also because the Han Emperor Wuti (B.C. 140) was a great explorer of Central and Western Asia.

But even if the Asokan or later Indian Missions to China are unfounded and be regarded as impossible, the Chinese sympathy, with, and knowledge of, Buddhism during that early period were, at any rate, philosophically very probable, in fact, almost a psychological necessity. That the Chinese intellect of the period was eminently adapted to a new mythology of Romanticism would be apparent from Fenollosa's remarks in his chapter on "Chinese Art of the Han Dynasty":

"The poetry of Han * * * remained largely Taoist or Individualistic, enforcing the prime fact which all

later Chinese critics, and their European Sinologist pupils have ignored, that almost all the great imaginative art work of the Chinese mind has sprung from those elements in Chinese genius, which if not anti-, were at least non-Confucian. This poetry is almost always in the southern romantic style."

Professor Fenollosa also speaks of the "philosophical and romantic interest in the Taoist stories of the West" which inspired the great Han Emperor Wuti "to inaugurate the Turkestan campaign. He summoned about him the individualistic genius of his day, professed to believe in and share the Taoist mystical powers, and determined to revisit the Queen of his Taoist paradise."

The romantic story of the actual introduction, also, points to the same inevitability of the Buddha-cult extending sway over the spiritual consciousness of the Celestials. The dream of the Emperor was not the "fine frenzy" of an individual but an index to the whole race-psychology. "Imagination bodies forth the forms of things unknown." So the Chinese imagination evolved the Buddha-cult in the guise of an Imperial dream as it had produced so many other cults in other guises.

The story is told by Hackmann thus: "The commonly accepted date of the real entrance of Buddhism into China is during the reign of Emperor Mingti (A.D. 58-76). This ruler is said to have had a dream in which a high, shining gold image of a god appeared to him, which entered his palace. The interpreter of the dream—a brother of the Emperor—attributed this apparition to the Buddha Sâkyamuni, who was revered in Central Asia and India, and who demanded worship in China also. * * * The Emperor sent an embassy through Central Asia to Khotan (the land

of the Yueh-chi) to procure the things requisite for the practice of the new religion. The emissaries—eighteen in number—left the imperial court in the year A.D. 65 and returned in 67, accompanied by two monks, Kâsiapa Mâtanga and Gobharana (the latter arriving a little after the former), as well as in possession of Buddha images and scriptures. A temple was built for the new religion, in which the two representatives lived, and gave themselves to the work of translating the most important Buddhist instructions into Chinese. The imperial palace of residence at that time was Loyang, the present Honan-fu. It was here that Buddhism first took root in Northern China.”

The admission of Buddha into the Chinese pantheon in the first century A.D. was not an extraordinary incident in the life of the Celestials. It belongs to the same category as the promulgation of the worship of Tai Mountain by the First Emperor in the 3rd century B.C., and of other cults in the pre-Christian era, and also as the recognition of Confucius as a god about A.D. 555 when, to quote Giles, it was enacted that a Confucian temple should be built in every prefec-tural city in the empire. Chinese mentality had ever been manufacturing myths and deities out of forces scattered here and there and everywhere. The only contributions of India were (1) a few new names, e.g., those of Buddha, Avalokiteswara, etc., and (2) a new form or mould in which the original myth-creating and iconising instinct of the Chinese was to express itself.

The traditional Chinese literature and philosophy represented, on the one hand, by Laotsze and Chuangtze, and on the other, by Confucius and Mencius, had pre-disposed the people for the new cult and were quite adequate to assimilate it when it was introduced. For as yet the influence of

Indian thought was insignificant. The number of Sanskrit works translated into Chinese was very meagre, intercourse between Hindus and Chinese infrequent, and in the realm of sculpture and painting there are absolutely no evidences of any contact between the two peoples. The great epoch of the Hindu sphere of influence in China's world of letters and art was to come under the mighty T'angs about six hundred years later, after Hiuen T'sang's return from India (A.D. 645).

Hindu missionising activity, during this period, for the propagation of the Buddha-cult, since the pioneer work of the first two missionaries, is described in the following extract :

"In the reign of Changli (A.D. 76-89) the chief of the Chu Kingdom became a devoted follower of Buddhism and many more books were imported. Eighty years afterwards a Parthian monk arrived at Loyang (Honan) with a collection of *sutras* some of which he translated with great intelligence and perspicuity. More monks arrived in the reign of Lingli (168-170) from the country of the Getæ and from India, and translated the Nirvâna and other *sutras* with great spirit and fidelity."—Verner's *Chinese Sociology*.

(b) THE RELIGION OF LOVE

It need only be stated here (1) that what has generally been known to scholars as *Mahâyânism* (Greater or Higher Vehicle), as contrasted with the *Hinayânism* (Lesser or Lower Vehicle) of Sâkyasimha's apostles, has been called *Buddhism* in these pages;

(2) That the mythology, iconography and canon which were introduced into China from Central Asia were neither

what the *man* Sâkya had taught as *Nirvânism* nor what Asoka had propagated as his *Dhamma*, both probably coming under *Hînayânism*,—but formed the ingredients of Mahâyânism*, which alone I have ventured to call Buddhism as being the cult of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas ;

And (3) that the language of Mahâyânic Bibles was not Pâli, like that of Hînayâna, but Sanskrit, the language of universal culture in India.

It is beyond the scope of the present work to prove the connection of Hînayânism with the *Chhândogya Upanishad* or with the *Sâmkhya Darśana* of India. Nor is it the object to catalogue the gods and goddesses of the *Mahâyânic* pantheon so carefully done by Mrs. Getty. The processes, also, by which *Mahâyânic* eschatology and metaphysics were disentangling themselves from the previous *Hînayânic*, *Upanishadic*, and *Darśanic* systems need not detain us.

I have already mentioned Avatârahood and image-worship. A few more characteristics of Mahâyânism are being given in the words of Dr. Richard in his *New Testament of Higher Buddhism*:

1. "Help from God to save oneself and others from suffering.

2. Communion with God, which gave the highest ecstatic rest to the soul.

3. Partaking of the nature of God by new birth so as to become Divine and Immortal oneself."

*The image and the Sanskrit language indicate that the faith was Mahâyânic. Evidently this form of Buddhism had been well established in Central Asia before A.D. 65. What, then, is the date of Kanishka, especially of his famous council associated with the name of Aswaghosha, where Mahâyânic Buddhism is alleged to have been formulated for the first time? Kushan chronology seems to require fresh revision in the light of facts from Chinese History. Vincent Smith considers A.D. 78 to be the date of Kanishka's accession, but adds: "The substantial controversy is between the scholars who place the accession of Kanishka in B.C. 58 and those who date it in or about A.D. 78." He dates the council somewhere about A.D. 100.

The following characteristics may be added from Hackmann's account:

1. The conception of an Eternal Deity.
2. The Bodhisattvas or Buddhas in *posse*.
3. The attainment of the Bodhisattvahood as the ideal of life—consisting in “sympathy with all beings, and a world-encompassing love.”
4. The invocation of the Bodhisattva becomes the central point to the householders. Remarkable stress is laid on Faith.
5. The idea of a Paradise or a happy state of existence as opposed to Hell.

These are the marks of a Religion with Love, Faith and Hope as its basis and Romanticism as its inspiring force. Its Bible has, therefore, been rightly called the *Awakening of Faith*. It is a work in Sanskrit by Aswaghosha* (1st century A.D.).

The same Emotionalism and Idealism could be noticed in the whole super-natural and anthropomorphic god-lore of contemporary India. One common ocean of Devotionalism was being fed by Mahâyâna, as by Shaiva, Saura, Vaishnava, Jaina, and other theologies.

For the first time in world's religious history men opened their hearts and began to love. It was not an age of passionless stoics, mere brain-labourers and cold book-lorists, but of lovers, *bhaktas*, devotees, Messiahs and apostles. The Jâtaka-stories, the Râmâyana-verses and Gîtâ-literature could flourish not in an atmosphere of “sophists, calculators and economists” but in the world of warm-blooded enthusiasts, men of faith and hope “believing

* The Doctrine of *Sunya*, i.e. Void, as an important feature of Mahâyânism is attributed to Nâgarjuna, one of its founders like Aswaghosha.

where we cannot prove." These were meant not for abstract academicians but for such as could inhibit their senses in order to focus their whole attention on the culture of the heart so that it might be the capital of the 'Kingdom of God.'

Each of these Religions of Love embodied—

"The devotion to something afar
From the sphere of our sorrow"

The apostles of *Bhakti* or Heart-culture asked the questions :

"Would you understand
The language with no word,
The speech of brook and bird
Of waves along the sand ?
Would you know how sweet
The falling of the rill,
The calling of the hill,
All tunes the days repeat?"

And the right romantic reply that was preached to the devotees was the following *sutra* :

"The secret of the ear
Is in the open heart."

It was the creed or message of the "open heart" that the Mahâyânists and others were propagating in India. A similar situation came to pass when centuries later Jesus was repudiating the "Legalism" of the scribes and the Book-religion of Judaism.

The human and mystic elements in these faiths which postulate the Infirmary of Man and the Mercy of God are as different from the primitive Nature-cult as from the practice of Dhamma or the study of Sâkya and Confucian *Dialogues*, but have historically grown out of both.

The Buddhism that came into the land of Confucius was thus only one of the expressions of the comprehensive cult of Love and Romanticism which manifested itself at the same time in the promulgation of the worship of Vishnu, Krishna, Shiva, etc.. And the same religious emotionalism was being exploited by sculptors to enrich their Buddhist or Shaiva arts.

This common origin it is which makes it often so difficult to distinguish between the images of the gods and goddesses belonging to the Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic pantheons of Hinduism. This is why Chinese, Korean and Japanese forms of Buddhism look so similar to the many varieties of present-day Indian religion in spite of modifications under the trans-Himâlayan soil and race-characteristics. This is why in spite of the disappearance of Buddha as a god from Indian consciousness, Buddhism may be said to live in and through the other cults of modern Hinduism, *e.g.* Vaishnavism, Shaivism, Jainism, etc..

SECTION 2.

Exit Sâkya, Enter Buddha and His Host.

(a) THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ROMANTIC RELIGION.

Psychologically speaking, therefore, as we have indicated above, Buddhism was born almost simultaneously in China and India. It need not be considered as a foreign commodity imported into China but the inevitable outcome of its age-long social evolution. The religious consciousness of the Chinese has ever had the same stuff as that of the Hindu, and each had paved the way quite independently for the recognition of an *Avatâra*, a deified man or a God incarnate in human form. Invention

of deities out of historical, semi-historical or legendary characters or out of Nature-Forces had been going on among both peoples all through their history. Sooner or later the "Enlightened" One was to get a place in the pantheon, sooner or later the Great Sage was to be a colleague of the Elemental Forces. It was an accident that Buddha was the name of the god to be worshipped first in both countries. It was an accident also that this Buddha was supplied to China from an Indian theological laboratory.

The contrast between Sâkya the preacher and Buddha the god, or Confucius the moralist and Confucius the god, has its parallel in Christology also. Professor Bacon writes in his *Making of the New Testament*: "Modern criticism expresses the contrast in its distinction of the gospel *of* Jesus from the gospel *about* Jesus."

The Pauline "doctrine of Incarnation appealing to the eternal manifestation of God in man," *i.e.*, of Jesus as an *Avatâra*, is thus explained by Dr. Bacon: "Whether Paul himself so conceived it or not, the Gentile world had no other moulds of thought wherein to formulate such a Christology than the current myth of Redeemer-gods. The value of the individual *soul* had at last been discovered, and men resorted to the ancient personifications of the forces of nature as deliverers of this new-found soul from its weakness and mortality. The influential religions of the time were those of personal redemption by mystic union with a dying and resurrected saviour-god, an Osiris, an Adonis, an Attis, a Mithra. Religions of this type were everywhere displacing the old national faiths. The Gentile could not think of the Christ primarily as a son of David who restores the kingdom to Israel. * * * The whole conception was spiritualised. The enemies overcome were

the spiritual foes of humanity, sin and death; redemption was not the deliverance of Israel out of the hand of all their enemies, * * * it was the rescue of the sons of Adam out of the bondage to evil powers.' It is human instinct to manufacture a god out of a great Teacher.

We have traced in the preceding chapter the development of the *avatâra*-cult in China and India. It is always difficult to point historically to the exact date when an idea is started. But so far as India is concerned, the best 'external evidence' is that supplied by the sculptors of the post-Asokan age (2nd century B.C.).

These bear at once the indelible impressions of the Vishnu-Sirimâ worship, the *avatâra*-myths of the *Râmâyana*, and similar legends of the *Jâtakas*.

"It stands there," says Lloyd in his *Creed of Half Japan*, "in the clear-cut stone monuments of India that pre-Christian India believed in Buddha as a being whose birth was supernatural, the result of a spiritual power overshadowing the mother; as one whose birth was rejoiced over by angels and testified to by an aged seer; as one who had been tempted by the evil one and had overcome; as one whose life had been one of good deed and holy teachings; as one who had passed into the unseen, leaving behind him a feeling of regret for him who had thus gone away."

(b) SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE OF IRAN AND ISRAEL

It is a significant fact that the first epoch of Internationalism in world's history beginning with the Hellenistic period was the time of gestation for new emotional cults throughout the world. The spiritual experience of all mankind was passing through the same stages. Zoroastrianism was evolving Mithraism, Chinese Classics were evolving

the worship of Confucius, Hinduism was evolving Buddha-cult, Shiva-cult, Râma-cult and so on, and Judaism was in the birth-throes of the Christ-cult.

With regard to the development in Iran we read in Moulton's *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*: "We still meet the old familiar names: Ahura Mazda is still supreme, with the Amesha Spentas around him, and Zarathustra is still the Prophet of the Faith. But even while we shut our eyes to the new divine names which crowd upon us, we cannot help seeing that the familiar names carry new associations. The Prophet is no longer a man of like passions with ourselves, a fervid religious and moral Reformer, eagerly pressing his lofty doctrine of God and duty against much opposition, and exhibiting very human emotions of elation and discouragement as the fortunes of the campaign sway to and fro. He is a purely supernatural figure, holding converse with Ahura Mazda on theological and ritual subjects, which rarely come near the practical and homely religion inculcated by the singer of the *Gâthâs*. * * * His own name had become semi-divine."

Rev. Charles, Canon of Westminster, writes in his *Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments*: "One of the strongest impressions experienced by the reader who studies in their historical order the Canonical and non-Canonical Books of the Old Testament is the consciousness of the continuous, and in most instances, the progressive, re-interpretation of traditional beliefs and symbols.

* * *

Down to the fourth century B.C., progress was slow and hesitating, but from the third century onwards the work

went on apace, not through the efforts of the official religious leaders of the nation, but mainly through its unknown and unofficial teachers, who issued their writings under the names of ancient worthies in Israel. The anonymity or pseudonymity * * characterised all the progressive writings in Judaism from the third century B.C. onwards. * * * All real progress in this direction was confined to a school of mystics and seers. * * *

During this interval a new and more ruthless power had taken the place of the Greek empire in the East, *i.e.*, Rome. This new phenomenon called, therefore, for a fresh re-interpretation. * * * Every conception was undergoing development or re-interpretation. Whole histories centre round such conceptions as soul, spirit, sheol, Paradise, the Messianic Kingdom, the Messiah, the Resurrection."

(c) BUDDHA-CULT AND ITS INDIAN "COGNATES."

We have noticed in the previous chapter how the whole Indian atmosphere was surcharged with the doctrines and ideas described in the above extract. The following lines of the Vâlmîkian bards—

"For Vishnu's self disdained not mortal birth,

And heaven came with him as he came to earth"—
were the stock-in-trade of every religious sect. So that centuries before the one "beneath the Syrian blue" declared "I am the Way, the Life, the Truth," his brother-Messiah, the Hindu Krishnâ, had asserted in the *Gîtâ*: "Forsake all *Dharmas* (*i.e.*, Ways, Taos, religions or creeds), make Me alone thy way."

The following declaration of the Lord is from Griffith's *Specimens of Indian Poetry*:

"I am the Father, and the fostering Nurse,
 Grandsire, and Mother of the Universe,
 I am the Vedas, and the Mystic word,
 The way, support, the witness and the Lord.
 The Seed am I, of deathless quickening power
 The Home of all, and mighty Refuge-tower.

* * *

When error leads a worshipper astray
 To other Gods to sacrifice and pray,
 Faith makes his gift accepted in my sight—
 'Tis offered still to Me, though not aright.
 Faith makes the humblest offering dear to Me,
 Leaves, fruit, sweet water, flowers from the tree;
 His pious will in gracious part I take,
 And love the gift for his devotion's sake."

The lengthy oration of Lord Krishna proceeds in this strain, which is nothing short of Romanticism carried to the *nth* power. Here is the Yankee idealist Whitman's individualism lifted up to the transcendental plane. One is reminded of his characteristic *Song of Myself*:

"Magnifying and applying come I,
 Taking myself the exact dimensions of Jehovah,
 Lithographing Kronos, Zeus his son, and Hercules his
 grandson,
 Buying drafts of Osiris, Isis, Belus, Brahma, Buddha,
 In my portfolio placing Manito loose, Allah on a leaf,
 the crucifix engraved,
 With Odin and the hideous-faced Mexitili and every idol
 and image,
 Taking them all for what they are worth and not a cent
 more," etc., etc.

Whitmanism spiritualised is the mysticism of *Gita*.

These verses from the *Gîtâ* give a picture of the common spiritual *milieu* in the midst of which the various cults of Hinduism were born. The new mythologies are therefore "cognates" and all present a family-likeness.

Sâkyasiṃha had been one of a legion of "cognates." His *Nirvânism* was one of the numerous metaphysico-moral systems of the Hindus in the 6th century B.C.. Similarly during this period (B.C. 150-100 A.D.) Buddhism or Mahâyânism was one of the numerous "cognate" cults that had been developing among the people of Hindusthân. This Buddhism should be called Hinduism of the Buddha-cult, just as Vaishnavism of the period was Hinduism of Vishnu-cult, and Shaivaism was Hinduism of the Shiva-cult, and so on.

Buddha was only one of the gods of a vast pantheon. It consisted of the Supreme Being variously conceived and diversely named, as well as the full-fledged deities, *avatâras*, and the gods in *posse*. Among Buddha's host are to be included not only Âdi-Buddhas, Avalokiteswaras, the Bodhisattvas and the other "Gods of Northern Buddhism," but also Râma, Krishna, Vâsudeva, Pârsvanâtha, Tirthankaras, etc., to mention a few semi-historical names, and Brahmâ, Vishnu, Shiva, etc., descended from the Vedic deities.

That Mahâyânism and other forms of Hinduism were not mutually exclusive would be evident from the policy of Kanishka, the Indo-Scythian monarch, generally regarded as the Asoka of the "New" Buddhism. Says Mr. Vincent Smith: "Such a Buddha (a god with his ears open to the prayers of the faithful and served by a hierarchy of Bodhisattvas) rightly took a place among the gods of the nations comprised in Kanishka's wide-spread empire, and the monarch, even

after his 'conversion,' probably continued to honour both the old and new gods, as, in a later age, Harsha did alternate reverence to Siva and Buddha."

Almost all the coins of Vasudeva I, the last powerful Kushan ruler (A.D. 140-73?), "exhibit on the reverse the figure of the Indian god Siva, attended by his bull Nandi, and accompanied by the noose, trident and other insignia of Hindu iconography." The thoroughly Indian name of this King, which is a synonym for the god Vishnu, is a proof, according to Smith, of the rapidity with which the foreign invaders had succumbed to the influence of their environment. The coins of Kadphises II, the predecessor of Kanishka, also tell the same tale.

It is clear that Buddha, Shiva and Vishnu existed side by side as deities in Hindu religious consciousness during the first and second centuries of the Christian era.

SECTION 3.

The "Balance of Accounts" in International Philosophy

(a) RIVAL CLAIMS OF THE EAST AND THE WEST

The relations between Greek thought and the Asiatic religions during the Hellenistic period may be understood from the following account.

According to Emmet in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, the third book of *Maccabees* written about B.C. 100 in Hebrew "expresses a bitter opposition to the attempts at hellenising, which so nearly overwhelmed Judaism in the second century B.C., and shows no sympathy with the developments of thought and doctrine, which at that time were growing up within the Jewish Church."

So also the Hebrew *Book of Jubilees* written between B.C. 135 and B.C. 105 defends, in Canon Charles' words, "Judaism against the Hellenistic spirit which had been in the ascendant early in this century, and to prove that the Law was of everlasting validity."

Dr. Moulton writes in his *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*: "Are we justified in claiming Zarathustra's right to be acknowledged as the founder of apocalyptic? It is too large a question to answer here in any adequate way, but we may briefly recognise the strong probability that contacts with a Zoroastrianised Persia did much to stimulate in Israel the growth of a form of literature which from the Maccabean era downwards dominated Jewish thought and created the *milieu* of the Gospel proclamation."

Mr. Hogarth writes in the *Ancient East*: "His (Alexander's) recorded attitude towards the Brahmins of the Punjab implies the earliest acknowledgment made publicly by a Greek that in religion the West must learn from the East."

Further, "the expansion of Mithraism and of half a dozen other Asiatic and Egyptian cults, which were drawn from the East to Greece and beyond before the first century of the Hellenistic Age closed, testified to the early existence of that spiritual void in the West which a greater and purer religion, about to be born in Galilee and nurtured in Antioch, was at last to fill.

A ring of principalities, Median, Parthian, Persian, Nabathœan, had emancipated the heart of the Orient from its short servitude to the West; and though Rome, and Byzantium after her, would push the frontier of effective European influence somewhat eastward again, their Hel-

lenism could never capture again that heart which the Seleucids had failed to hold."

In his *Studies in Chinese Religion* Parker records the opinion that "it is impossible to deny that the ideas of a Messiah of Salvation, good works and so on, may reasonably have suggested themselves to the Nazarenes through the efforts of Buddhist monks."

The following is from Lloyd's *Creed of Half Japan*: "The existence of Buddhism in Alexandria has often been suspected. Scholars have seen Buddhists in the communities of the Essenes in Palestine, in the monastic congregations of the Therapeutæ described by Philo, in the Hermetic books of Egypt. * * * It has also been often suspected that Gnosticism was derived from Buddhism."

On the other side have been opinions that Iranian, Hindu and Chinese religions of B.C. 200—A.D. 100 owe their origin to Biblical lore. According to Rev. Timothy Richard, "it is more and more believed that the Mahâyân Faith is not Buddhism, properly so-called, but an Asiatic form of the same gospel of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ." ‡ And Lloyd believes that the religious mission to China during the reign of Mingti in A.D. 67 was "not a Buddhist mission at all" from India, but a Christian propaganda, and "that under Indian names of these two missionaries there may have lurked a Greek nationality."

Mr. Lloyd refers to the tradition of the visit of the *Magi* or the Iranian 'Sages' to the cradle of the Infant Saviour as an indication of the way in which the wind was blowing. But the tradition should be regarded as having the same value as that of pious Buddhists who have recorded the legend of Vedic deities dancing attendance on the infant Sâkyasimha

on his nativity. It proves really, on the contrary, that the philosophy and metaphysics as well as theology of the Persian "wise men" were the most powerful factors in the socio-religious world of the time, and, therefore, it was a pardonable vanity on the part of the apostles of the Galilean to imagine the representatives of the established order as having paid homage to the newly risen Star.

Any reader of Lloyd's chapter on 'The New Testament in touch with the East' in his *Creed of Half Japan* would see how impossible and hopeless a task it is to prove the early influence of the Christ-cult on the lands of Zarathustra, Sâkyasimha and Confucius. In the first place, the chronology of Biblical literature itself is not yet beyond criticism. In the second place, according to Prof. Bacon, in the *Making of the New Testament*, it was not before the end of the second century A.D. that the New Testament was canonised. For, on the authority of the Tübingen school of Bible-criticism founded by Ferdinand Baur, "the period covered, from the earliest Pauline Epistle to the latest brief fulminations against Gnostic Docketism and denial of resurrection and judgment, is included in the century from A.D. 50 to 150."

The Sanskrit Râma-stories and Pali Jâtaka-stories which are related on the stupas of the 2nd century B.C. could not certainly be influenced by stories which became current several centuries afterwards. Buddha-cult, Râma-cult, Krishna-cult, Shiva-cult and Vishnu-cult had already been formed with icons and *sûtras* before Christ-cult was definitely established in Asia Minor. Historically speaking, Christology and Mariolatry are later than similar '-logies' and '-latries' in Persia, India and China.

The following opinion of Giles may also be quoted: "It seems almost certain that the *Mahâyâna* School had already developed in western India before any knowledge of the Gospels could possibly have travelled so far. Nâgârjuna, its reputed founder, is generally assigned to the second century A.D., and it does not appear to have been earlier than the middle of that century, that the Christians at Antioch began to gather together the records of their Founder, nor indeed until the end of the second century that the Gospels became publicly known through the writings of Irenæus and Tertullian."

The conclusion of Mr. Vincent Smith regarding the "extent of the Hellenic influence upon India from the invasion of Alexander to the Kushân or Indo-Scythian conquest at the end of the first century of the Christian era" is thus given in his *History of India*:

"The Greek influence merely touched the fringe of Hindu civilisation and was powerless to modify the structure of Indian institutions in any essential respect."

The following statement of the same author, however, is unsupported by evidence and partially contradicts the above remark: "The newer Buddhism * * * must have been largely of foreign origin, and its development was the result of the complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic and Hellenic elements which had been made possible by the conquest of Alexander, the formation of the Maurya Empire in India, and above all by the unification of the Roman world under the sway of the earlier emperors."

(b) PARALLELISM AND "OPEN QUESTIONS"

It is not justifiable to explain the problem of the nature of the relationship between Christianity and Buddhism except by the hypothesis of an original common fund of spiritual ideas. The following remark of Johnston can, therefore, be accepted:

"We may then admit the possibility that some of the characteristic doctrines shared by Christianity and the Mahâyâna—such as the efficacy of belief in divine or super-human saviours incarnating themselves in man's form for the world's salvation—were partly drawn from sources to which the builders of both religions had equally ready access."

Dr. Timothy Richard remarks in *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*: "It is getting clearer each year now that these common doctrines of New Buddhism and Christianity were not borrowed from one another, but that both came from a common source, Babylonia, where some Jewish prophets wrote their glorious visions of the Kingdom of God that was to come. Babylon then had much intercourse with Western India and Persia, as well as with Judæa, Egypt and Greece. From this centre these great life-giving, inspiring truths were carried like seeds into both the East and West, where they were somewhat modified under different conditions."

About Babylon and early Christianity, however, Mr. Johnston remarks: "It is in the discussions of these schools (Hīnayāna) orthodox and unorthodox, not in Babylonian poetry or prophecy or in the missionary activity of a St. Thomas, that we must look for the ultimate sources of the principal streams that flow into the ocean of Mahâyānist belief."

In fact, as for the place of Babylonia in world's religious history and the general intellectual condition of the Hellenistic and Græco-Roman countries, the only statements that may be safely made seem to be the following :—

1. Hellenism was a composite product—neither thoroughly Greek nor thoroughly Asiatic. Therefore anything traced to Hellenistic influence must be considered as much oriental as occidental.

2. Hellenism was, after all, not very deep and wide. It may be *presumed* that the important landmarks in world's thought during this period bore the impress of the mutual influence of the East and the West, and that the Buddha-myth (as well as Râma-myth and Krishna-myth) of Eastern Asia and the Christ-myth of Western Asia were held in solution in the grand philosophic cauldron of post-Alexandrian eclecticism. But definite historic *evidences* to prove the impact in each case are not yet forthcoming.

Rather, as Vincent Smith observes, "the invasions of Alexander, Antiochos the Great, Demetrios, Eukratides and Menander were, in fact * * merely military incursions which left no appreciable mark upon the institutions of India; * * * the impression made by Greek authors upon Indian literature and science is hardly traceable until after the close of the period under discussion,"

3. Each one of the systems of philosophy, metaphysics and eschatology which we notice full-fledged between B.C. 150 and A.D. 100 can be explained independently as the consummation of an evolutionary process along traditional lines without any reference to the international *milieu* or the contact between the East and the West. Thus Platonism

might lead to Stoicism, "Cynicism" and Neo-Platonism without any so-called Oriental impact. So Judaism might lead to Gnosticism, Apocalypticism, and Christ-cult without the influence of Neo-Platonists or Zoroastrians. So also Zoroastrianism could be the basis of Mithraism without any Hellenistic or Hindu factors. Original Chinese mysticism might similarly give rise to later Taoism. The cult of *avatâras* in India and China also can be explained by totally ignoring the epoch of internationalism and *rapprochement* between East and West. The *Brâhmanas*, *Upanishads*, *Darsanas* and *Tripitakas* alone can explain Mahâyâna, Shaiva, Krishnaite and other faiths.

4. Under these circumstances it is desirable to recognise the parallelism in the trend of religious and philosophical growth in India, China, Persia and Syria, and not to dogmatise about the parenthood of any system with regard to the rest. The psychology and metaphysics of Hinduism with its Buddha-cult, Krishna-cult, etc., and those of Judaism with its Christ-cult were independent phenomena growing out of the same "conditions of temperature and pressure," to use a metaphor from physical science.

5. It may be stated that considerable research has to be bestowed on the Parthian, Bactrian, Persian, and Syrian languages and literatures, and the results of these investigations checked by comparison with the findings of Indo-Chinese scholarship, on the one hand, and Hellenic scholarship, on the other, before the problem of international debit and credit can be settled in that most fruitful period of world's religious history.

It is beyond the capacity of the present author to deal with that problem of the "Balance of Accounts" between Asia and Europe. It seems that for some time to come the following, among others, would still remain "open questions :"

1. How far Zeno, a Phoenician of Cyprus, the founder of Stoic Universalism, was a product of the wedlock between the East and the West.

2. What actual influence the missionaries sent out by Asoka to propagate his *Dhamma* had on the Magi of Iran (cf. Prof. Jackson's *Zoroaster*) or in the centres of Greek culture like Antioch, Tarsus and Alexandria. According to Vincent Smith, as would be apparent to every student of facts, "Asoka was much more anxious to communicate the blessings of Buddhist teaching to Antiochus and Ptolemy than to borrow Greek notions from them."

3. How far Saul, the Jew of Tarsus, an apostle of Christianity, was an "oriental who combined the religious instinct of Asia with the philosophic spirit of Greece."

4. (Coming somewhat later), to what extent Plotinus, the greatest of Neo-Platonists, who lived in the 3rd century of the Christian era, imbibed the mystical pantheism of Chuang-tsze's *Tao-te-ching* or the Indian *Gîtâ* and *Vedânta*. The following account from Webb's *History of Philosophy* would lead one to rank Plotinus with the Chinese *Taoists* and Hindu *Yogaists*. "The spiritual ambition of Plotinus was not to be satisfied by sympathy with the universal life, nor yet by contemplation of the eternal Intelligence. He sought, and was believed by his friends on several occasions to have attained, a union with the ultimate principle, the

highest God of all. * * * Union with the Highest can be attained only in a state in which all sense of distinction is lost, a state of ecstasy or rapture."

SECTION 4.

The "Middlemen" in Indo-Chinese Intercourse.

(a) THE TARTARS IN WORLD-HISTORY.

It was from Central Asia that the new mythology of India was introduced into China. It supplied two missionaries, several canonical manuscripts in Sanskrit language, and a golden image. Central Asia, as the connecting link between Chinese and Hindu culture, therefore, demands our attention during this period of the birth of Buddhism.

In the history of Indo-Chinese civilisation generally and of religious development in particular, the races of men inhabiting the region vaguely called Central Asia, have always played a prominent part. Their functions have never been creative but only those of carriers, distributors, intermediaries and middle-men. In the present instance, they are responsible (1) for the initiation in India of what is called the Græco-Roman art, and, (2) for the transportation of Buddhist religion, art and literature from India into China. A brief political anthropology would explain the inter-racial relations of the period.

The Maurya Empire of the Hindus (B.C. 320) was chronologically the first empire in world's history, if we leave out of consideration the ancient Assyrian, Egyptian and Persian Monarchies. Alexander's brilliant conquests did not lead to an empire because of his early death. The second Empire in world's history was that of the Chinese

under Tsin (B.C. 220) and Han Dynasties. And the third Empire was that of the Romans (1st century A.D.). It is interesting to note that the first empire to be dismembered was the Hindu, the second, the Chinese, and the third, the Roman. It is still more interesting to note that the fall of all the three empires was due ultimately to the invasions of the same barbarian hordes.

These were the Central Asian races known under diverse names, e.g., Tartar, Scythian, Yuechi, Kushan, Saka, Hiung-nu, Hun, White Hun, and so forth. We need not enter into the question of their blood-connexions or linguistic affiliations nor tarry to inquire as to which of these names represents the genus and which the species, branch or family. The most important thing for us to know is that the homeland of peoples who could be successfully withstood neither by the Asiatic nor by the European civilised nations was the *terra incognita* named Central Asia. Readers of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* are familiar with the story of "the barbarians of Scythia, * * * the rude ancestors of the most polished nations of the world."

Originally nomads, these Tartars had no culture of their own, but succeeded in swooping upon well-established civilisations through the vigour and virility characteristic of *pusne* races. And as always happened in history in such cases, "captive Greece captured Rome." The Tartars willingly allowed themselves to be captured by their slaves in India, China, as well as Europe, who were more enlightened than they. They took for their intellectual and spiritual masters those among whom they lived as conquerors, and thoroughly adapted themselves to the local conditions by matrimonial and other social connexions. In lieu of the refinements of culture they obtained they imparted the

freshness of their blood and strength of their physique to the subject races. The "Barbarians" of Central Asia were thus vandals in no sense. Modern Hindus, modern Chinese, as well as modern Europeans, owe much of their ancient culture and present vitality to intercourse with these hardy races.

(b) THE INDO-SCYTHIAN (TARTAR) KUSHANS

By the middle of the second century B.C., a branch of the Tartar race, the Yuechi, was already on the move towards the hinterland of Northern and North-western India. There were no strong rulers either among Hindus or among the peoples of the neighbouring Hellenistic Kingdoms. The only powerful monarchy of the time was that of the Hans of China. The Yuechis, therefore, had smooth-sailing through the Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Parthian territories and also the regions now called the North-western Frontier Province of India.

By the first century A.D., *i.e.*, about the time of the founding of the Roman Empire, we hear of a first-class Hindu-Tartar (Kushan) Power under Kanishka (A.D. 78-123?)* with his capital at Purushapura (modern Peshawar). Kanishka was the patron of the celebrated Congress (A.D. 100?) of Hindu philosophers and metaphysicians under Vasumitra and Aswaghosha, to which tradition ascribes the first formulation of Mahâyânism. Just as the *Nirvânism* of Sâkyasimha had been brought into being and nurtured under more or less non-Aryan conditions of life in Eastern India, so *Mahâyânism* formally came into existence in Gândhâra in an atmosphere of newly Hinduised foreigners under the patronage of a monarch whose territory was situated within the westernmost confines of India and beyond. It must be

* Kushan Chronology is tentative.

remembered that a great part of the extra-Indian territory of the Kushans had been included within the Maurya Empire and hence had been the seat of Hindu culture since at least B.C. 320.

Kanishka's predecessors and compatriots had learnt sculpture from the Hellenistic schools of Bactria, and from there imported teachers into their territory called Gāndhāra. On the Indian soil they devoted themselves whole-heartedly to Sanskrit language and literature as well as to the prevailing metaphysics and mythology, the first lessons of which they must have received in Bactria, Parthia, and Khotan. One would like to know how these Hellenistic art-traditions and Hindu culture-traditions were being transformed in the process of assimilation with the race-characteristics of these Yuechis (specifically, the Kushans). For the present it is clear that the Græco-Buddhist (also called Gāndhāra) art and Hinduism of Buddha-cult were born in an environment of Indianised Scythian or Tartar Settlements. The place of Central Asia in the history of Buddhism is thus very large.

The Kushans were progressive monarchs. They maintained relations of international commerce and diplomacy with the Han Emperors on the East and the Roman Emperors on the West. They also succeeded in extending the Indian sphere of influence through their kith and kin who were rulers of the neighbouring Central Asian regions. External conditions for the propagation of Buddhism were thus thoroughly satisfactory, and we have seen that so far as the Chinese were concerned, their whole mental history had led them up to it.

The relations between the Chinese and those "middle-men" of Central Asia are being given in the words of Mr.

Vincent Smith, who describes the progress of Indian Buddhist art eastwards in his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* :

“Communications between China and the Western countries were first opened up during the time of the early Han Dynasty (B.C. 226 to A.D. 25) by means of the mission of Chang-Kien, who was sent as envoy to the Oxus region and died about B.C. 114. That mission resulted in the establishment of regular intercourse between China and the Scythian powers, but did not involve contact with India. In the year A.D. 8 the official relations of the Chinese government with the western states came to an end, and when the first Han dynasty ceased to exist in A.D. 25, Chinese influence in those countries had vanished. But in A.D. 73 a great general named Pan-chao reduced the King of Khotan to subjection, and from that date continued his victorious career until his death in A.D. 102, when the power of China attained its greatest western extension. In the last decade of the first century Pan-chao inflicted a severe defeat on the Kushan King of Kabul somewhere beyond the Pamirs in the Yarkand or Kashgar country. Most probably that King was Kanishka. After Pan-chao's death the Kushan King retrieved his defeat and occupied Khotan at some time between A.D. 102 and 123. To that Indo-Scythian conquest of Khotan I would attribute the rapid spread of Indian languages, scripts, religion and art in Chinese Turkistan, as disclosed by the discoveries of recent years. I do not mean that Indian influence then first began to be felt, for there is reason to believe that it crossed the passes more than three hundred years earlier in the age of Asoka, but its

great extension appears not to go back further than the first quarter of the second century of the Christian era, the very time when the art of Gāndhāra was at its best."

(c) GRÆKO-BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

A halfway house between Hindusthân and China was the kingdom of Kucha, situated in the heart of Chinese Turkestan. In the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal Dr. Sylvain Levi writes about this Central Asian region: "In the early centuries of the Christian era, Kucha received the Buddhistic creed and culture to such a large and overwhelming extent that the whole local situation became Buddhistic. Situated, on account of its connection with Khotan, well for commercial purposes, Kucha from this time onward became a very prosperous and flourishing place in which the activities of the merchants and the priests were equally vigorous and in which commerce and culture played an equally significant part. * * * Sanskrit became the sacred language and was assiduously taught and studied in the monasteries."

The following extract from Fenollosa's chapter on 'Græko-Buddhist art in China' would give the whole geography of the Kushan (Indo-Tartar) sphere of cultural influence in Asia: "This wave of civilisation from Gāndhāra passed northward from the Indus valley into the great mountain passes of Balkh and Swat * * * and advancing over the roof of the world to the great Turkestan plain lying beyond the Panirs, pushing up toward Kashgar and Samarkand, and downward again to skirt the southern borders of the great deserts which the Kuulung range * * separates from Tibet, and so on to kingdoms far towards the Chinese border, has been verified by the important

recent explorations of Sven Hedin, Mr. Stein of the Indian Government, and others."

According to Vincent Smith the culmination of the Hellenistic sculpture of Gândhâra "may be dated from A.D. 50 to A.D. 150." "Thus the best productions of the Gândhâra Hellenistic school nearly synchronise with the art of the Flavian and Antonine periods in western Asia and Europe, and in India with the reliefs or the great rail at Amarâvatî in the Deccan, as well as with many sculptures at Mathurâ on the Jumna."

The Kushan-Hindus were great worshippers of images, as would appear from the thousands of icons which have come to light during the comparatively recent excavations. "All the sculptures come from the Buddhist sites and were executed in the service of Buddhist religion. * * * Buddha may appear in the guise of Apollo, the god Brahmâ, or in that of St. Peter. * * * However Greek may be the form, the personages and incidents are all Indian."

"The statues and small groups represent Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, or saints on the way to become Buddhas, besides minor deities of the populous Buddhist pantheon. * * * That system (Mahâyâna) practically deified Gantama Buddha, as well as other Buddhas, and surrounded them with a crowd of attendant deities, including Indra or Sakra, Brahmâ and other members of the Brahmanical heavenly host, besides a multitude of attendant sprites, male and female, of diverse kinds and varying rank, in addition to human worshippers."

It was this Indo-Tartar iconography that supplied models to the Chinese and Koreans and finally to the Japanese,

CHAPTER VII.

A Period of So-called Anarchy in China

(A.D. 220-618)

SECTION 1.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY AND COMPARATIVE HISTORY.

The powerful Han Dynasty of Celestial Emperors came to an end in A.D. 221 after a brilliant career of about four centuries and a quarter. The Empire fell to pieces before the inroads of the Tartar barbarians of the North. These foreigners occupied almost the whole northern half of the country and pushed the original Chinese dynasties down to the South which had received civilising influences only recently. It was a period of small contending states, native and foreign, till A.D. 589, when the whole country came under the Sui Dynasty, from whom the T'angs inherited a unified Empire in A.D. 618.

An epoch of consolidation has always been followed and preceded by an epoch of dismemberment. History has repeated itself on these lines not only on the Chinese and Indian continents and in other countries of Asia but also in Europe taken as a whole, and in the European states taken singly. Feudalistic disintegration is not due to the alleged political incompetency of the oriental peoples but has been a marked characteristic of the western races as well.

A parallel study of the dates and facts of political history of the Chinese and Hindu as well as the European races from earliest times down to 1815 (and even 1870) would bring out the facts:—

1. That there have been at least as many instances of strong and centralised rule in the Orient as in the Occident; and necessarily as many periods of anarchy also.

2. That the durations of unified administration have been equally long or short both in China and India as well as in Europe.

3. That Chinese and Hindu history as well as the history of other Asiatic peoples can present no fewer Alexanders and Napoleons than the history of European races.

4. That Asiatic aggressions upon Europe have been at least as frequent as the inroads of European races into the East.

5. That the defeat and expulsion of foreign invaders by Asiatic peoples are as solid facts of oriental history as the retreat of Persian, Saracen, Tartar and Turkish nationalities from the heart of Europe.

6. That the cases of successful resistance of enemies' military inroads in Asiatic or European history can not be conveniently explained away as instances of home-keeping conservatism, or desire for "splendid isolation," or absence of international spirit on the part of any people.

7. That the ability to bring within the pale of one culture three hundred or four hundred millions of people indicates as great "aggressiveness" on the part of the Hindus or the Chinese as the ability to spread a common civilisation among the heterogeneous races of Europe on the part of the Westerners.

8. That if twenty, thirty, or forty millions be the human basis of a 'nationality,' as has been the case in the

West during the last forty years, Asiatic peoples have always given rise to such nation-states.

9. That fratricidal and internecine wars between peoples of the same race and religion have been at least as frequent in the West as in the East.

• 10. That instances of one Asiatic people dominating another have not been greater than those of the exploitation or "government of one people by another" in Europe.

11. That in ancient and mediæval times the nations of Asia have had knowledge about one another as much as or as little as the nations of Europe about themselves.

12. That the ignorance of Europeans regarding the Asiatics in ancient and mediæval times has been, to say the least, as profound as that of the Asiatics regarding the Europeans.

13. That 'splendid isolation' was equally true of both Asiatics and Europeans.

14. Hatred of foreigners was as powerful in the West as in the East; such terms as "barbarians," "heathens," "infidels," "vile Turk," "nigger," etc., are found in non-oriental languages.

15. Besides, the morals and manners of the Court of Peking have been out-Pekinged in lands other than Cathay. Thus Macaulay speaks of court-life in England under the Stuarts with his characteristic eloquence in his *Essay on Milton*:

"Then came those days never to be recalled without a blush, the days of servitude without loyalty and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot and the slave. The King cringed to

his rival that he might trample on his people, sank into a viceroy of France, and pocketed, with complacent infamy, her degrading insult, and her more degrading gold. The caresses of harlots and the jests of buffoons regulated the policy of the state. The Government had just ability enough to deceive, and just religion enough to persecute. The principles of liberty were the scoff of every grinning courtier, and the Anathema Maranatha of every fawning dean. In every high place, worship was paid to Charles and James, Belial and Moloch, and England propitiated those obscene and cruel idols with the blood of her best and bravest children. Crime succeeded to crime, and disgrace to disgrace, till the race accursed of God and man was a second time driven forth, to wander on the face of the earth, and to be a by-word and a shaking of the head to the nations."

It is necessary to bear this skeleton of Comparative History in mind while noticing the anarchy and political chaos in China during the four hundred years between Han and T'ang dynasties. The strength and weakness exhibited by Chinese humanity during the several millenniums have been those of every other race of mankind. If the historical geography of China were studied on the lines of Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe*, it would be quite clear that generation by generation, and area for area, the political fortunes of the Far Eastern nation as well as of the Western peoples have advanced in nearly the self-same way. There is nothing abnormal in the race-characteristics of the Chinese, and nothing exceptional need be assumed while studying their religion and culture.

This period of anarchy is, however, very important to students of Chinese religion. It was during those troublous

times that Buddhism, Confucianism and Laotszeism (Taoism), as cults of *avalâras* or personal deities in which form we know them to-day, took their final shape.

SECTION 2.

CHINESE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

For a long time after the formal introduction of Buddhism among the Chinese, "things Indian" remained mere curios to their "upper ten thousand." India was to them no more than what she was to Europe in the days of Goethe when *Sakuntalâ* was first translated into a western language, or what Japan was to the Occidental world prior to the event of 1905 or of 1895, or what China is to-day to all outsiders. A real Hindu movement was a long-delayed phenomenon in the Celestial Empire. "*Vini, Vidi, Vici*" is not the verdict about Indianism in China in spite of the Indian element in her character.

For the Chinese, like every other people, had begun to bring out their own *Jâtaka*-stories or incarnation-myths regarding their ancient sages. They were not in need of much foreign help in the direction to which their mentality led them independently. The account given of Laotsze in Taoist works is, according to Davis in *Chinese* (ii, 115-16) "that he was an incarnation of some superior being, and that there is no age in which he does not come forth among men in human shape. They tell the various names under which he appeared from the highest period of fabulous antiquity down as late as the sixth century, making in all seven periods."

Mr. Werner gives an extract from the *Transactions* of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Pt. V., pp. 83-98) in which we read of the Taoist "mode of self-

training called *lian-yang*," the analogue of Hindu *Yoga*. "This method consisted of a hermit life, and sitting cross-legged in a mountain cave, and trying to hold the breath. * * * By continuing this process sufficiently long, the soul will at length become superior to the body, rise up out of it by its own power, ascend to heaven, and become one of the celestial genii."

The use of charms, amulets, etc., is mentioned by sinologues in connexion with Taoism of this period, as evidently there were other forms of folk-religion, also. The discovery of the "Elixir of Life," "philosopher's stone" and all other phenomena connected with alchemy is also traced to Taoism of this and previous ages. "Chin-Shi-Hwangti sent a party to look for the Elixir of Life in B.C. 219. Among mineral substances cinnabar was considered likely to yield it." "The Taoists call the process of manipulating substances to obtain the elixir *Liau-wai-tan*, 'the obtaining by purification of the external elixir.'" "Alchemy was studied in China for two centuries B.C. and therefore earlier than in the West." This would remind the Hindu of his *Tantras* and Nâgârjuna, the Mahâyânist Doctor of Tantric philosophy.

Laotsze was fast approaching deification. The following is taken from Watters' *Lao-Tzu*. "From the time of the Chin (A.D. 265-478) and Liang (A.D. 402-557) Dynasties down to the Great T'ang dynasty his doctrine and his name were glorified. He was promoted to be a God, and wonderful things were invented about him, and the Tao of which he spoke so much."

It seems that Taoist Papacy was instituted before Laotsze had received a place in the pantheon. Watters gives the following account: "The first of the Taoist patriarchs

in China was Chang Tao-ling, who lived in the time of the Han dynasty. Lao-tsze appeared to him in the Stork-cry Hill and told him that in order to attain the state of immortality which he was seeking he must subdue a number of demons. Tao-ling in his eagerness slew too many, and Laotszu told him that Shangti required him to do penance for a time. Finally, however, he was allowed to become an immortal, and the spiritual chieftom of the Taoists was given to his family for ever."

Giles gives the following stages in the process of deification through which Confucius passed. "In A.D. 178 a likeness of Confucius had been placed in his shrine as a substitute for the wooden tablet in use up to that date. * * * There is no doubt that the shrine played an important part in keeping alive the Confucian tradition. So far back as A.D. 267, an Emperor decreed that the sacrifice of a pig, sheep, and an ox should be offered to Confucius at each of the four seasons. Rules were drawn up about A.D. 430 for regulating the ceremonies to be performed. Gradually, the people came to look upon Confucius as a god to be propitiated for the sake of worldly advantages; and in A.D. 472 it became necessary to issue an edict forbidding women to frequent the shrine for the purpose of praying for children. About A.D. 555 it was enacted that a Confucian temple should be built in every prefectural city in the empire. * * * Some of the ancient sages who were admitted to share in the honors accorded to their master, appear in the shape of wooden figures; the portraits of others were painted on the walls. In the year 960 the wooden figures were abolished, and clay images were substituted."

It would appear that the idea of personal gods, *avatâras* or Messiahs, to be worshipped in their icons had been growing independently in Hindusthân, Iran, Israel and China. The following seems to be the chronological order in the history of world's modern deities :—

1. Shiva-cult, Râma-cult, Vishnu-cult (Krishna-cult).
2. Buddha-cult, Mahâvira-cult.
3. Mithraism, Christology, Mariolatry.
4. Laotsze-cult.
5. Confucius-cult.

The mentality expressed in each cult is the same, there are slight differences only in the technique and external paraphernalia.

SECTION 3.

“CONFUCIANISM,” “BUDDHISM,” “BUDDHIST INDIA,”
“BUDDHIST CHINA.”

The term “Confucianism,” as the name of a religion, like the names of other great religions, Hinduism, Christianity, etc., is ambiguous and very elastic.

(1) The Cult of the World-Forces that has been existing in China from time immemorial has been miscalled Confucianism, simply because Confucius the librarian at Loo happened to compile, or edit, or even lend his name to the collection of, the Ancient Classics in which that cult finds expression. In this sense Confucianism had existed in China before Confucius was born. As Hirth puts it, thus considered, the whole history of China becomes a tale of “retrospective Confucianism.”

(2) Confucianism may mean a study of the Ancient Classics alleged to have been edited by Confucius, the *I'jâsa* or Pisistratus of China, and also the worship of the same Deities as have been adored by the Celestial people throughout the ages.

(3) Confucianism is sometimes wrongly taken to be equivalent to positivism. The sayings of Confucius as moralist which we get in the *Analects*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, have no reference to the supernatural, the unseen or the other world, and are supposed to convey the *whole* message of his life. But as we have indicated in a previous chapter, they are really *parts* of a system which embraces the entire classical literature, and is, therefore, as theistic as that of the pre-Confucian Chinese.

(4) Confucianism has become the worship of Confucius as a god since about the 5th century A.D.. This Confucius-cult is exactly like the Shângti-cult, Heaven-cult, Tai-cult, etc., of the Chinese, and the Varuna-cult, Indra-cult, Vishnu-cult, Buddha-cult, etc., of the Hindus, a cult of Nature-Force. This has, therefore, to be regarded as distinct from (3), the so-called Positivism of the Chinese supposed to have been taught by Confucius the moralist, (2), the study of the classics, etc., associated with the name of Confucius as editor, and (1), the Ancient Chinese Religion. Rather it should be regarded as a branch of (1), because Confucius is a god among gods.

It may be remarked, in passing, that the trend of the foregoing pages has been to indicate that Confucianism taken in any sense is easily comprehensible to the Hindu mind.

Likewise, the term 'Buddhism' also is ambiguous. It may mean at least two things: (1) the religion that was founded by a man named Buddha, (2) the religion which recognises Buddha as *a* or *the* god in its pantheon. This ambiguity is shared with it by the term 'Christianity' as we have seen in the preceding chapter.

Now in India no religion has been named after its founder. It is the custom to designate religions according to the cult. In that case, if the teachings of the historic person Sâkyasimha, surnamed the Buddha, may be considered as constituting a religion, it should be called *Nirvânism* or Cessation-of-Misery-ism after its most prominent metaphysical tenet. The current term *Hînayânism* is quite good.

Buddhism in its second meaning has practically no or very indirect connexion with this *Nirvânism*, though evolved out of it. It is a cult like *Shaivism* with Shiva as the principal god, or *Vaishnavism* with Vishnu as the principal god, or *Shâktism* with *Shakti* as the principal goddess, or *Saurasim* with Suryya, the Sun, as the principal god, etc.. Buddha here is on a par with the elemental forces of the universe, Fire, Air, Water, Sky, etc., named Agni, Indra, Varuna, Dyaus, etc., in Vedic literature, or Brahmâ, Vishnu, Shiva, etc., the descendants of Vedic deities.

It is necessary to bear this distinction always in mind because Sâkyasimha the founder of *Nirvânism* (the philosophy of twelve *Nidânas** and eight-fold path) did not and naturally could not claim the rank of a god or a son of God or even a prophet. Buddhism or the cult of Buddha-worship therefore should not be fathered upon Sâkyasimha. This Buddhism, called also *Mahâyânism*, is like every other ism in India not the making of a single brain or character, but

* Links between Ignorance and Birth.

is the outcome of communal religious consciousness, the embodiment of a collective race-ideal. It is the growth of generations and sums up the accumulated spiritual experience of ages.

What, then, does the term *Buddhist India* mean? It should mean (1) *Nirvānist India*, and (2) India in which Buddha-cult has been supreme. But either way it is a misnomer. There has been no period of Indian history in which Sākyasimha's *Nirvānistic* teachings had exclusive sway over the mind of the people. There were other sources of inspiration to Indian humanity both in Sākyasimha's time as well as before and after. There was the *Upanishad-India*, there was the *Darsana-India*, there was the *Folk-India*, there was the *Mahāvira-India*, there were probably the *Mahābhārata-India* and *Rāmāyana-India* too, and there were many other Indias at the same time. No chapter of Indian history can be called after Sākyasimha, or *Nirvānism*, if that be his exclusive patent.

Secondly, if we take Buddhism in the second sense, here also we can never speak of a Buddhist India. Because when Buddha had a place in the pantheon, he was only a god among the gods worshipped by the people of Hindusthān. Besides, just as the metaphysics of *Nirvānism* was not Sākya's original discovery, so also the metaphysics of Buddhism was not the patent of any sect. If any chapter of Indian history is to be named after the gods worshipped by the people or the metaphysical systems they embody, Brahmā, Vishnu, Shiva, Tārā, Krishna, Rāma, Pārswanātha and a thousand others have equal claim with Buddha.

But Rhys Davids has used the term *Buddhist India* in such a way as leaves the wrong impression that for certain consecutive periods of Indian history the religion

founded by Sâkyasimha as well as the religion of Buddha-cult monopolised the faith of the people and probably eclipsed all their secular and materialistic activities. If by *Buddhist India* he meant all those epochs of Indian history in which Buddhism in any sense has existed and all those peoples of India, past or present, who have professed Buddhism in any shape, there would have been no misunderstanding. Mr. Johnston, for example, in his *Buddhist China*, has done exactly what is being suggested here. Readers of Johnston's work get an idea of what Buddhism is and has been, as taught and professed by the Celestial People. They are never misled to believe that there is a Buddhist epoch of Chinese history. But readers of *Buddhist India* by a greatest student of Indian Buddhism have been thus misled for a long time.

In fact, the whole division of Indian history into the so-called epochs has up till now been thoroughly misleading. It has been the fashion to name the chapters after a race or a religion. If this were the fashion with students of European history, they would have to describe some of their epochs as those of *Mahometan Europe*, *Turkish Europe*, *Tartar Europe*, and so forth. Students of Indian history should have to proceed to their work with the object of elucidating the operation of forces, both national as well as international, and secular as well as non-secular, that have contributed to the building up of a varied and complex civilisation. Sometimes the most prominent culture-force is probably race-mixture, at other times it is probably an intellectual upheaval. And it may often be difficult to get a convenient word for defining all the activities throughout India. The work, therefore, has to be commenced in the

spirit of a Guizot or a John Richard Green. Vincent Smith may be said to have given a thousand years' chronological scaffolding. Much spade-work yet remains to be done before India can be presented in an understandable form.

SECTION 4.

THE PIONEERS OF ASIATIC UNITY.

The fortunes of Buddhism during the period of so-called anarchy in China may be thus described in the words of Hackmann:

"The most striking fact, to which too little notice has so far been given, is that it was not till the beginning of the fourth century A.D. that the Chinese were allowed to become monks in the Buddhist religion. The authorised representatives, therefore, of the new religion were foreigners during the first two and a half centuries. A roll of names of foreigners has been handed down to us who came from India, from the Himalayan states, and from Central Asia, to take charge of Buddhism in China. For a long time their most important labours consisted in translations of the books of the Buddhist Canon. * * * Till about A.D. 300 the translators were all foreigners (with the exception of one Chinese layman)."

The following is taken from Giles: "It was not until A.D. 335 that the Chinese people were allowed to take Buddhist orders. This permission was due to the influence of a remarkable Indian priest, named Budhachinga, who reached the capital in A.D. 310. * * * Buddhism now began to take a firm hold; and under the year 381 we read of a special temple built for priests within the Imperial palace. A further great impetus to the spread of this

religion was given by the arrival, about the year 385, of Kumârajîva. * * * He laboured for many years as a translator, dying in 417. * * * The work by which he is best known * * * is the translation of what is called *The Diamond Sutra* * * * which teaches that all objects, all phenomena are illusory, and have no real existence, * * * seems to show that faith in Buddha through the Buddhist scriptures can also make a man 'wise unto salvation.' * * * While Kumârajîva was spreading the faith in China, and dictating commentaries on the sacred books of Buddhism to some eight hundred priests, the famous traveller, Fa Hien, was engaged upon his adventurous journey."

The heroic idealism as well as lofty spirituality which inspired Fa Hien in his arduous journey (A.D. 399-413) were characteristics of the Chinese converts of the day. The following is taken from Legge's translation of Fa-Hien's *Travels*: "That I encountered danger and trod the most perilous places, without thinking of, or sparing myself, was because I had a definite aim, and thought of nothing but to do my best in my simplicity and straightforwardness. Thus it was that I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable, if I might accomplish but a ten thousandth part of what I hoped."

Fa Hien's noble personality can be understood also from the following account of Giles: "He brought with him a large number of books and sacred relics, all of which he nearly lost in the Bay of Bengal. There was a violent gale, and the ship sprang a leak. As he tells us in his own account of the journey, 'he took his pitcher and ewer, with whatever else he could spare, and threw them into the sea; but he was afraid that the merchants on board would throw

over his books and images, and accordingly he fixed his whole thoughts upon Kuan-shih-yin or Kuan Yin, the Hearer of the Prayers of the World, and prayed to the sainted priests of his own country, saying, 'Oh that by your awful prayer you would turn back the flow of the leak and grant us to reach some resting place!''

These are the words of a real *bhaktia* or lover, be he a Shaiva, a Vaishnava, a Râmaite, a Jaina, or a Buddhist. The Religion of Love and Faith was established in China by genuine Romanticists and self-abnegating devotees of the Fa Hien-type.

With Kumârajîva and Fa Hien, *i.e.*, towards the beginning of the 5th century, we enter a new era of Indo-Chinese relationships. It marks the beginning of an intimate cultural and spiritual union between the two peoples, which, backed by equally deep commercial and political intercourse, has given rise to that composite crystal of human thought known as Asiatic Culture. The land of Sâkyaśimha and the land of Confucius met at last in a real "Holy Alliance." For the next thousand years (*i.e.* down to about A.D. 1453, the year of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks), the life and activity of human beings from Kyoto to Cairo were governed by one Asiatic science, art and philosophy. This, carried to Europe by Arab intermediaries, became also the foster-mother of that Renaissance, the ultimate results of which we have been witnessing in the world since 1815. That chapter of world's mediæval history has yet to be written.

Hindu culture in general, and Buddha-cult in particular, may now be said to have come to stay in China. Indianism was no longer a mere "interest" of curio-hunters and faddists, but on the fair way to be a permanent factor in

Chinese civilisation. According to Hackmann, "perhaps the renown attained by the Chinese Buddhism of that period is best demonstrated by the striking event that in the year A.D. 526 the patriarch of Indian Buddhism, Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth in the list of the Buddha's successors, left his native land and migrated to China, which thenceforward became the seat of the patriarchate."

It is now desirable to get a picture of Indian culture and religion, the fountain-head of the Asiatic life-stream, at the beginning of this momentous epoch in world's history. To this task I shall now address myself.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Beginning of Hindu Culture as World-Power

(A.D. 300-600)

SECTION 1.

INDIAN NAPOLEON'S ALEXANDRIAN MARCH.

We noticed in a previous chapter that, if we exclude the Assyrian, Egyptian and Persian Monarchies of ancient times, the Maurya Empire of the Hindus (B.C. 321-B.C. 185) was, chronologically speaking, the first Empire in world's history, and that, internationally speaking, it occupied the first rank in the contemporary state-system. We have now arrived at a stage in world's history when another Hindu Empire became similarly the very First Power of the world. This was the celebrated Empire of the Guptas (A.D. 320-606). There was now "anarchy" (?) in China. With the incursions of Barbarians into the Roman Empire, Europe was immersed in her "Dark Ages." The Saracenic Caliphate of the followers of Islam was not yet come. It was the people of Hindusthân who enjoyed the real "place in the sun."

While noticing the military and political achievements of Samudragupta (A.D. 335-375), one of the Emperors of this House, Mr. Vincent Smith—to whom Indologists owe the only "chronological narrative of the political vicissitudes of the land"—makes the following remarks :

"Whatever may have been the exact degree of skill attained by Samudragupta in the practice of the arts which graced his scanty leisure, it is clear that he was endowed

with no ordinary powers; and that he was in fact a man of genius, who may fairly claim the title of the Indian Napoleon. * * *

By a strange irony of fate this great king—warrior, poet, and musician—who conquered nearly all India, and whose alliances extended from the Oxus to Celyon—was unknown even by name to the historians until the publication* of this work. His lost fame has been slowly recovered by the minute and laborious study of inscriptions and coins during the last eighty years.”

It may be mentioned, in passing, that monarchs of the Samudragupta-type, who may be compared easily with a Charlemagne, a Frederick or a Peter the Great, have flourished in India almost every second generation. Hindu folk-lore has known them as Vikramādityas (Sun of Power) and has invested their names with the halo of Arthurian romance.

It is unnecessary to wait long over the political achievements of the Gupta Emperors. The *Digvijaya* or ‘Conquest of the Quarters’ made by Samudragupta fired the imagination of a contemporary poet, Kālidāsa, the Goethe or Shakespeare of Sanskrit literature. The following are some of the verses from Canto IV of his immortal epic, *Raghu-vamsam* (“The House of Raghu”), translated by Griffith for his *Idylls from the Sanskrit*, which describe the triumphal progress of his hero Raghu :

“Fortune herself, sweet Goddess, all unseen,
Held o’er his sacred head her lotus screen,
And Poesy in minstrels’ form stood by,
Swept the wild string, and raised his triumph high.

* First Edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905.

What though the earth, since ancient Manu's reign,
 Was wooed by every king, nor wooed in vain ;
 She came a bride, with fresh unrifled charms,
 A pure young virgin, to her Raghu's arms.

* * *

Scarce was he ready for the sword and shield
 When autumn called him to the battlefield,—
 War's proper season, when the rains are o'er,
 When roads are dry, and torrents foam no more.
 Soon as the day to bless the chargers came,
 The warrior's holy festival, the flame
 Turned to the right, and with a ruddy hand
 Gave him full triumph o'er each distant land.
 Then when his Kingdom was secured, and all
 His city fortified with tower and wall,
 His hosts he marshalled, his broad flag outspread,
 And to subdue the world his army led.
 Forth as he rode, the city matrons poured
 The sacred grain upon their mighty lord.

* * *

First to the East the hero takes his way,
 His foemen trembling as his banners play.
 Thick clouds of dust beneath his chariots rise,
 Till dark as earth appear the changing skies ;

* * *

He marked his progress with a mighty hand ;
 The fountain gushed amid the thirsty sand ;
 The tangled forest harboured beasts no more,
 And foaming floods the freighted vessel bore.

* * *

Through all the East he passed, from land to land,
 And reached triumphant, Occan's palmy strand.
 Like an unsparing torrent on he went,
 And low, like reeds, the lords of Suhma bent.
 Then fell the islets washed by Gangâ's wave,
 Nor could their ships, the hosts of Banga save.

* * *

No wealth he sought, but warred in honour's name,
 So spared his land but spoiled his warlike fame.

* * *

But louder, as the war-steeds paced along,
 Rattled the harness of the mail-clad throng.

* * *

True to the Law thus Raghu marched by land
 To Pârasîka with his conquering band.
 He saw, indignant, to the lotus eyes
 Of Yavana dames the wine-cup's frenzy rise.

* * *

Mad was the onset of the western horse,
 And wild the fury of the conqueror's force ;
 No warrior saw—so thick the dust—his foe,
 But marked him by the twanging of his bow.
 Then Raghu's archers shot their keen shafts well ;
 The bearded head of many a soldier fell,
 And covered closely all the battle-ground
 Like heaps of honey that the bees surround.

* * *

Pale grew the cheek of every Huna dame,
 Trembling in wild alarm at Raghu's name.

* * *

By him subdued, they forced their pride to bring
 Coursers and gold as gifts to Kosal's King.
 Borne by these steeds he climbed Himâlayas hill,
 Whose crest now clothed with dust rose loftier still.

* * *

Fierce was the battle with the mountaineers
 Armed with their bows and arrows, stones and spears,
 The thick sparks flying as they met. Then ceased,
 Slain by his arrows, from the mirth and feast
 The mountain revellers, and minstrel bands,
 That walked as demi-gods those lofty lands,
 Were taught the hero's victories to sing,
 And each hill tribe brought tribute to the King.

* * *

Thus when all princes owned the conqueror's sway,
 He turned his chariot on his homeward way,
 Letting the dust, beneath his wheels that rose,
 Fall on the diadems of humbled foes."

It was the atmosphere of this poetry which nurtured the nation of Kumârajîvas. Fa-Hien and Kâlidâsa were contemporaries, and if the Chinese traveller had cared to know some of the prominent Hindus of his time, the first man to be introduced to him would have been Kâlidâsa. But it seems from Fa-Hien's diary that he had not much leisure to go beyond his special mission. However, it was the Indianism of Kâlidâsa's age with which the Chinese Apostle came in contact. It was this Hindu Culture which was propagated in China and finally transmitted to Japan to build up her *Bushido* and *Yamato Damashii*. Buddha-cult was introduced into Korea from China in A.D. 372, and from Korea into the Land of the Rising Sun in A.D. 552.

SECTION 2.

“WORLD-SENSE” AND COLONISING ENTERPRISE.

The Hindus of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries were not living in “splendid isolation,” as it has been the fashion to suppose that the Asiatics have ever done. As in previous ages, so under the Guptas they kept up cultivating the “world-sense.”

In the first place, it must be remembered that India alone is a world by herself—the whole of Europe minus Russia. Therefore, for the Hindus to be able to develop the “India-sense” in pre-Steam days must be regarded as an expression of internationalism of high order. Considered territorially, and also in terms of population, the world-sense of the Roman Emperors was not greater than that of the Hindu Imperialists.

The internationalism of the Hindus was extra-Indian too. It is well-known that the world of Kālidāsa's poetry includes the whole of India and also the Indian borderland and Persia. The fact that with the fifth century is augmented the stream of traffic between India and China both by land and sea is itself an indication of the “Asia-sense” they had been developing. It may be said that the Mauryas had cultivated mainly the relations with West-Asia, the Kushans had opened up the Central-Asian regions, and the Guptas developed the Far Eastern intercourse. The Hindus could now think not only in terms of India but of entire Asia.

The larger world beyond Asia was also to a certain extent within the purview of the Hindus. Ever since Alexander's opening up of the West-Asian route, the Hindus had kept touch with the “barbarians.” About the

first century A.D. Hindu trade with the Roman Empire was not a negligible item of international commerce. The *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* (c A.D. 100) is a document of that Indo-Roman Intercourse. Both the Kushans in the North and the Andhra Monarchs in the South were interested in Rome.

In the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (India, Vol. II.) Sewell describes the foreign trade of the Hindus under the South Indian Andhras (B.C. 200—A.D. 250): "The Andhra period seems to have been one of considerable prosperity. There was trade both overland and by sea, with Western Asia, Greece, Rome, and Egypt, as well as with China and the East. Embassies are said to have been sent from South India to Rome. Indian elephants were used for Syrian warfare. Pliny mentions the vast quantities of specie that found its way every year from Rome to India and in this he is confirmed by the author of the *Periplus*. Roman coins have been found in profusion in the peninsula, and especially in the south. In A.D. 68 a number of Jews, fleeing from Roman persecution, seem to have taken refuge among the friendly coast people of South India and to have settled in Malabar."

The following picture of foreign settlements in Southern India is given by Vincent Smith: "There is good reason to believe that considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in Southern India during the first two centuries of our era, and that European soldiers, described as powerful Yavanas, dumb Mlechhas (barbarians), clad in complete armour, acted as body-guards to Tamil kings."

According to the same authority Chandragupta II. Vikramaditya (A.D. 375-413) of the Gupta dynasty was “in direct touch with the sea-borne commerce with Europe through Egypt.”

Besides, intercourse with Further India and the colonisation of Java form parts of an adventure which in Gupta times was nearing completion. In fact, with the fourth century A.D. really commences the foundation of a “Greater India” of commerce and culture, extending ultimately from Japan on the East to Madagascar on the West. The romantic story of this Expansion of India has found its proper place in Mookerji’s *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times*. The heroic pioneers of that undertaking were all embodiments of the world-sense.

It would thus appear that the travels of Kumârajîva the Hindu Missionary (A.D. 405) and of Fa Hien the Celestial Apostle were facts of a nature to which the Indians had long been used. The Chinese monks came to a land through which the current of world-life regularly flowed. Hindusthân had never been shunted off from the main-track of universal culture. To come to India in the age of the Guptas was to imbibe the internationalism of the atmosphere.

Regarding the Indo-Chinese intercourse of this age the following extracts from *The Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* are interesting:

“Of what took place in the Tartar regions of the north we know little, since their dynasties have not been recognised by Chinese historians as legitimate. The true Celestial annals, indeed the lore of Chinese genius, belong at this time to the stimulus afforded by the new southern conditions. The new capital, near the present Nanking, was

on the great Yangtse. * * * The Southern seats of the Chinese were in closer proximity to a new part of India, the south through Burma, or along the opening lines of coast trade. * * * It was here too, in the Southern Chinese nests, that Buddhism could drop her most fertile germs."

It may be mentioned that the patriarch Bodhidharma, originally a South Indian Prince, reached Canton by sea and was then invited to Nanking (A. D. 520).

The above is a picture of the sea-traffic. References to this are to be found in the *Kwai-Yuen Catalogue* (A.D. 730) of the Chinese *Tripitaka* which has been drawn upon by Prof. Anesaki for his paper in the J.R.A.S. (April, 1903).

It must not be forgotten, besides, that Kucha and Khotan, the halfway house between India and China, remained all this while the great emporium of Hindu culture and Graeko-Buddhist art. Manuscripts, unearthed by Stein and others, both in Kharoshthi and Chinese Scripts, prove that Central Asian Indianism flourished during the period from 3rd century A.D. to 8th or 9th. And it was the Central Asian land-route which was traversed by Fa Hien in A.D. 399 and later by Hiuen Tshang in A.D. 629 on their way to India, from which both returned home by sea.

SECTION 3.

A Melting-pot of Races.

(a) THE CAPACITY FOR ASSIMILATION.

The New Worlders of the United States take a great delight in describing their country as the 'melting-pot of races.' Similarly the statesmen and scholars in the Land of the Rising Sun have been giving out to the world during

the last decade or so, that an extraordinary 'capacity for assimilation' is the characteristic of the Yamato race. Anthropologically speaking, the two claims are one and the same; and historically considered, the Japanese or American characteristic is not the exclusive feature of any race, but has been exhibited in the life of every race of human beings, and may be traced ultimately to the elemental instinct of self-preservation.

The ancient Chaldæans and Mycæans could claim the same characteristic, as well as the Aztecs of Mexico and the Maories of New Zealand. Every inch of soil on the Old World from Korea to Ulster has been as great a melting-pot of races as any of the States in the New World. And the race-psychology of the Tartar, the Jew, the Briton, the Pole, the Hindu, the Pathan, the Chinese, the Bulgar, and the Slav displays the same assimilative capacity for utilising new conditions and thus growing by adaptation as that of the Far Eastern people.

In the following picture of "England under foreign rule" (1013-1204) given by Green in his *Short History of the English People* we see at once the American melting-pot and the Japanese assimilation:

"Britain had become England in the five hundred years that followed the landing of Hengest, and its conquest had ended in the settlement of its conquerors. * * * But whatever titles kings might assume, or however imposing their rule might appear, Northumbrian remained apart from West Saxon, Dane from Englishman. * * *

Through the two hundred years that lie between the flight of Æthelred from England to Normandy and that of John from Normandy to England our story is a story of

foreign rule. Kings from Denmark were succeeded by kings from Normandy, and these by kings from Anjou. Under Dane, Norman, or Angevin, Englishmen were a subject race, conquered and ruled by foreign masters; and yet it was in these years of subjection that England first became really England. * * * The English lords themselves sank into a middle class as they were pushed from their place by the foreign baronage who settled on English soil; and this change was accompanied by a gradual elevation of the class of servile and semi-servile cultivators who gradually lifted themselves into almost complete freedom. The middle class which was thus created was reinforced by the up-growth of a corresponding class in our towns. * * *

At the same time the close connexion with the continent which foreign conquest brought about secured for England a new communion with the artistic and intellectual life of the world without her. The old mental stagnation was broken up, and art and literature covered England with great buildings and busy schools. * * *

Dane and Norwegian were traders over a yet wider field than the northern seas; their barks entered the Mediterranean, while the overland route through Russia brought the wares of Constantinople and the East. * * * Men from Rhineland and Normandy, too, moored their vessels along the Thames. * * *

Further, "At the accession of Henry's grandson it was impossible to distinguish between the descendants of the conquerors and those of the conquered at Senlac. We can dimly trace the progress of this blending of the two races in the case of the burgher population in the towns."

Also, "It is in William (of Malmesbury) above all others that we see the new tendency of English literature.

In himself as in his work, he marks the fusion of the conquerors and the conquered, for he was of both English and Norman parentage, and his sympathies were as divided as his blood. The form and style of his writings show the influence of those classical studies which were now reviving throughout Christendom."

Every country presents the story of this fusion of races and blood-intermixture, and India is no exception. The purity of blood or race-type claimed by the Hindus is, in fact, a myth. It was certainly out of the question during the period of the Guptas which was preceded as well as followed by the military, political and economic settlements of Central Asian hordes in various parts of India.

(b) TARTARISATION OF ARYANISED DRAVIDIANS.

Taking a vertical view of history, the following important race-elements must have contributed to the web of Hindu physico-social life of the Vikramādityan era :

1. The Aborigines (pre-Aryans or so-called Dravidians) should be regarded as the basic factor in Indian humanity both in the North and in the South. The Mârâthâ race is Scytho-Dravidian ethnologically, and Mârâthâ scholars point out the non-Aryan or pre-Aryan strain in the Hindu characteristics of Western India. President Sâstri of Bangîya Sâhitya Parishat of Calcutta in his recent essays has been testifying to the predominance of primitive non-Aryan influences on Bengal's life and thought. As for South India, the following remarks of Prof. Pillai quoted in the *Tamilian Antiquary* (No 2, 1908) are eminently suggestive:

"The attempt to find the basic element of Hindu civilisation by a study of Sanskrit and the history of Sanskrit

in Upper India is to begin the problem at its worst and most complicated point. India South of the Vindhyas—still continues to be India proper. Here the bulk of the people continue distinctly to retain their pre-Aryan features, their pre-Aryan languages, their pre-Aryan social institutions. Even here the process of Aryanisation has gone too far to leave it easy for the historian to distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof."

The blending of aboriginal races with newcomers has to be recognised through all the ages of Indian history. It was not finished in the prehistoric epoch of Aryan Settlements, but is going on even now. The Himalayan tribes and the races inhabiting the forests and hills of the whole peninsula have always contributed their quota to the making of the Hindu population. Thus among the so-called Rajput clans some are descended from the foreign Sakas and Huns, while others have risen from the native pre-Aryan races. According to Vincent Smith, "various indigenous or aboriginal tribes and clans underwent the same process of Hinduised social promotion, in virtue of which Gonds, Bhars, Kharwârs, and so forth, emerged as Chandels, Râthors, Gaharwârs, and other well-known Rajput clans, duly equipped with pedigrees reaching back to the sun and the moon."

2. Aryanisation must be regarded as the second factor in this composite structure. It is this by which the Hindus become one with the Iranians of Persia and the Germans and Teutons of Europe. Aryanisation has given to India a "fundamental unity" of cultural ideals, but must not be assumed to have effected any thoroughgoing transformation of race. The blending of the Aryan and non-Aryan

proceeded in varying degrees in different places; and the civilisation bears marks of the different degrees of fusion. Scientifically speaking, the term 'Aryan' implies a certain culture of peoples speaking a certain language, it cannot refer to certain blood-strains or physical characteristics involved in the use of the word 'race.' The Aryanisation of India, as of other countries of the world, should, therefore, indicate the super-imposition of a new language, new religious conceptions, new domestic and social institutions, and a new polity upon those of the pre-Aryan settlers.

3. Persianisation or Iranisation, and, along with it, older Assyrian or Mesopotamian traces, need be noticed in the early civilisation of Aryanised India. Prof. Rapson in his primer, *Ancient India*, has dealt with the political relations between Persians and Indians in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.. Here, again, the influence may be more cultural than racial. Prof. Fenollosa suggests Mesopotamian influence upon Chinese Art of the Han dynasty (B.C. 202-221 A.D.), especially in the animal-motives. This may be suggested about India too, as has been done by Grünwedel in his *Buddhist Art*. Vincent Smith also remarks: "The little touches of foreign manners in the court and institutions of Chandragupta * * * are Persian; * * * and the Persian title of Satrap continued to be used by Indian provincial governors for ages down to the close of the fourth century."

The Persian influence on Maurya India has been described in the *Indian Antiquary* (1905). Mr. Smith thinks that some features of Maurya administration "may have been borrowed from Persia;" and hazards the conjecture

that the Persianising of the Kushan coinage of Northern India should be explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion in the 3rd century A.D..

4. Yavanisation or Hellenisation was effected both in blood and culture. Chandragupta himself had set the example of Indo-Greek matrimonial relations. The Hellenistic Legation-quarter, at Pataliputra (modern Patna), under Megasthenes, Asoka's propagandism in the Hellenistic Kingdoms of Western Asia and Egypt, Kushan patronage of Græko-Roman artists, the establishment of Roman colonies in parts of Southern India as well as the contact of the Hindus with Græko-Bactrians and Græko-Parthians as enemies on various occasions, suggest more or less inter-racial as well as inter-cultural fusion. It is difficult to prove, however, as has been stated in a previous chapter, what the extent or character of the fusion could amount to. Vincent Smith does not think it was much.

5. Tartarisation of India seems to have been as deep and wide in blood as Aryanisation was in culture. It is this by which the Hindus of mediæval India became one with the people of contemporary China. The Aryans had brought civilising influences into the land of the Dravidians; but the nomad hordes of Central Asia brought only vigorous and fresh blood, and accepted the civilisation of the new land *in toto*. Possibly some primitive folk-characteristics, traditions of pastoral and agricultural life in Mongolia, Turkestan and Bactria, the rude nature-deities and superstitions prevailing in the steppes and deserts of the wild homeland, were necessarily introduced as new factors into Indian social life. It is to this common ethnic element that the commonness of some of the folk-beliefs in different parts of Asia may have to be attributed. Howorth's *History*

of the Mongols is a monumental work on the Central Asian tribes in English.

Roughly speaking, Tartarisation or Scythianisation of the Aryanised Dravidians of India, was effected in three different, but not necessarily successive, waves. The first wave was that of the Sakas, that of the Kushans the second, and the third that of the Huns. The waves overwhelmed not only the Northwest, the Punjab, Sindh and Gujrat, but the whole of Northern India, and crossed the Vindhya also to fertilise the Deccan plateau and Konkan plains. As has been noted in a previous chapter, the Central Asian migrations into the Indian sphere of influence can be traced to about the second century B.C.. Since then for about half a millennium the stream of immigration seems to have been continuous. The Central Asians poured in either as peaceful settlers or as invaders, so that layer upon layer of Tartar humanity began to be deposited on the Indian soil.

The Saka settlements at Taxila in the Punjab and at Mathurâ on the Jumna probably as 'satrapies' of a Parthian (Persian) power, the independent Saka Kingdom in Saurâshtra or Kâthiâwâr which was destroyed by the Gupta Emperor in A.D. 390, the Kushan Empire which under Kanishka extended in India probably as far South as the Vindhya, the Saka Satrapy at Ujjain probably tributary to Kanishka, the Kshaharâta Satrapy of Mahârâshtra at Nasik which was annexed to the Andhra monarchy about A.D. 126, "the Abhiras, Gardabhilas, Sakas, Yavanas, Bâhlikas, and other outlandish dynasties named as the successors of the Andhras" in the Purânas,—all these are instances of Hinduisation of Tartar conquerors down to the time of the Gupta Emperors.

The Hun-element in the Tartarisation of India began towards the close of the Gupta era. It was the Huns who destroyed the brilliant Empire and occupied north-western Punjab. They invaded the heart of India also and left settlements in Râjputânâ, during the fifth and sixth centuries, but were finally defeated by the Vardhanas in A.D. 604.

Recent researches of archæologists have thrown a flood of light on the fusion of the Hunnic and the Indian races. The present tendency among scholars is to believe that almost all the important ruling dynasties in Northern India between Emperor Harshavardhana (c A.D. 647), the host of Hiuen Tshang, and Mohammedan invasions, were descendants of the mixed races, and may be regarded as more or less Tartarised or Scythianised.

Thus (1) most of the Râjput clans, some of which continue as Feudatories of the British Empire, should trace their pedigrees back to the Se (Sakas), Kushan (Yue-chi), and Hun (Hiung-nu) barbarians of Central Asia, rather than to the Sun, or the Moon, or the Fire-god.

(2) The Gurjara-Pratihâras of Kanauj, whose dominions under Mihira Bhoja (A.D. 840-90), and Mahendrapâla (890-905?), according to Vincent Smith, "may be called an empire without exaggeration", "were the descendants of barbarian foreign immigrants into Râjputânâ in the fifth or sixth century;" "closely associated with, and possibly allied in blood to, the White Huns."

(3) Professor Jadunâth Sarkar, in reviewing Banerji's *History of Bengal* written in Bengali language, suggests, that the ancestors of the Pâla Emperors (A.D. 730-1130), who, according to Smith, "succeeded in making Bengal one of the great powers of India," and established "one of the

most remarkable of Indian dynasties," were the Rajbhats of Gorakhpur in U.P.; and that these were, like the Gurjaras, Guhilots, Râshtrakutas, Solankis, etc., descendants of the Tartar settlers.

It may be remarked, therefore, that the democratic blood of the modern Bengal bourgeoisie and the blue blood of the Râjput aristocracy are both derived from the common spring of the uncouth blood of the savage Central Asian Huns.

6. Lastly, must be mentioned the race-fusion within the limits of India herself. The constant shifting of the political centre of gravity from place to place, and military occupations of the territories of neighbouring princes by ambitious monarchs—both afforded ample scope for social amalgamation and necessarily brought about inter-provincial blood-mixture. The effects of dynastic revolutions and territorial readjustments on the social status of tribes and castes should require a separate treatment.

It is not known what the Gupta Emperors were ethnologically; but that the people over whom they ruled were a composite product there is no doubt.

To bring the story of race-mixture and culture-fusion in India to a close, I need only mention the following three important stages:—

7. Islamite Invasions under the Pâthâns (A.D. 1300-1550). These commencing with the tenth century were of the nature of previous Tartar settlements or still earlier Aryan colonisings. The conflict of the Hindus with the new-comers was certainly very bitter like that described in the Vedic literature as having taken place between the Indo-Aryans and the aboriginal *Dasyus*. But

the Indian capacity for assimilation led to happy compromises as soon as it was found that the Pâthâns meant to adopt Hindusthân as their motherland, and not exploit it in the interests of a far-off Transoxiana.

8. Saracenisation of the Indian population was the result of these new conditions. It may be conveniently described as having taken place under the powerful Moghul Monarchy (A.D. 1550-1700). This was the period of Mahometans Hinduising and Hindus Islamising in every department of life. The glorious civilisation of the age was neither exclusively Hindu, nor exclusively Mahometan, but an off-spring of the holy wedlock between the two. It was Indo-Saracenic or Hindu-Islamic. The scars and wounds of the invasion-period had long been healed when the Imperial Head at Delhi was found to inherit the blood both of the Râjput and of the Mongol, when the *Tâi Mahal*, that dream-verse in marble, raised its stately domes and minarets on the fair Jumna,—a visible symbol of the marriage between indigenous and foreign art-traditions, when language,* literature, painting, music, religious preachings and philosophical teachings, folk-lore, fairs, processions, and even the commonplace superstitions testified to the eclectic spirit of the age.

Not only Chaitanya (1485-1533) and Nânak (1469-1538), Kabîr (1440?-1518?) and Tukârâma (1608-49), the Martin Luthers and Calvinus of India, but the musician Tân Sen, the emperor Jahangir, the viceroy Man Singh, the statistician Abul Fazl, and the financier Todar Mall are all embodiments of that Indo-Saracenic life-fusion. The Renaissance that characterised the 16th and 17th centuries was

* See Naren Law's *Promotion of Learning in India by Mohammedan Rulers* (Longmans, 1915.)

as brilliant³ as the Vikramādityan Renaissance of a thousand years ago, and must be evaluated as the result of naturalisation of Saracenic culture in India.

9. Deccanisation (or South-Indianisation) of Hindusthân under the Hindu Empire of the Mârâthâs. This may be said to have been a powerful factor in Indian civilisation during the period from the rise of Sivâji the Great (c A.D. 1650) to the overthrow of the last Peshwa by the British (1818). During all previous ages, generally speaking, it was the North that had influenced the South* both culturally and politically. Since the middle of the 17th century it was the turn of the South to influence the North. It was not only the reaction of the Hindu against the Mahometan power, but also that of *Dakshinâtya* against *Âryâvarta*. To understand the race, religion, customs, and culture of Northern India from Orissa to Gujrat or from Assam frontier on the East to the territory of the Amir of Kabul on the West during the 18th century it is absolutely necessary to analyse the social influences of the splendid Mârâthû conquests.

(c) CASTE-SYSTEM AND MILITARY HISTORY.

In this connexion it may not be inappropriate to enter into a digression concerning the blood-intermixture within the limits of the Indian continent, and thus throw a side-light on the history of castes.

It has been the custom up till now to study the caste system of the Hindus from the socio-economic and socio-

* It need be noted, however, that of the greatest thinkers of Mediæval India, Sankarâchâryya (788-850), Râmânujâ (12th century), Madhva (13th century), and Râmânanda (14th century) were all Southerners; and the Northerners, e.g., Chaitanya, Nânak and Kabir, were the disciples of their systems. Besides, the influence of the Tamil Napoleons on Orissa, the buffer between Bengalee and Chola Empires, (and ultimately on Bengal), during the 11th century, has to be recorded.

religious points of view. The fundamental fact about it, however, is physical. For all practical purposes the castes are groups of human beings designed for the regulation of marriages, *i.e.*, selection of mates. The Caste-system should thus form the subject matter not merely of Economics and Theology, but also, and primarily, of Eugenics. In fact, the eugenic aspect of the castes is the basis of the socio-economic and socio-religious problems as treated by such classical Hindu law-givers as Manu.

A scientific treatment of the Caste System, therefore, is tantamount to the history of marriages or blood-relationships among the Hindus, and of the changes in their eugenic ideas. It thus becomes a part of the larger subject of Race-Intermixture, *i.e.*, Ethnology, or Physical Anthropology.

It has been shown above that the Physical Anthropology of Indian population has been powerfully influenced by the political and military history. The study of castes, therefore, has to be undertaken from a thoroughly new angle, *viz.*, that of dynastic changes, military expeditions, subjugation of races, empire-building and political-disruption. It ultimately resolves itself into a study of the influence of warfare on social and economic transformation. When the caste system is thus studied as a branch of the military history of the people of India, it would be found—

1. That the facts of the present day socio-economic and socio-religious system cannot be carried back beyond a certain age.

2. That the attempt to understand Vedic, post-Vedic, Sâkyaśimhan, Maurya, post-Maurya, Andhra-Kushan, Gupta, and even Vardhana, Pāla, Gurjara-Pratihāra and Chola societies according to the conventions of the Caste-system known to-day is thoroughly misleading.

3. That probably down to the 13th century, *i.e.*, the beginning of Islamite aggressions on India, the history of social classes supplies more data for the study of *races* than for *caste*-history.

4. That such terms as Brâhman, Kshatriya, etc., have not meant the same thing in all the ages down to that period—the same term may have covered various races and tribes.

5. That it is an open question how far the four-fold division of society in authoritative works down to that time was, like Plato's classification, a "legal fiction," and to what extent and in what sense it was an actual institution.

6. Since the 13th century there may have been formed eugenic groups like those we see to-day—but not necessarily four—in fact, innumerable.

7. These groups could never have been stereotyped but must have remained very elastic—because of the changes in the fortunes of the rulers, generals, viceroys, etc., and the corresponding changes in importance of localities, tribes and families. [The kaleidoscopic boundary-changes in Europe during the last five hundred years have repeated themselves on a somewhat smaller scale in the Indian world].

8. Under conditions which must be regarded as more or less feudal, the customs were always local and were never codified into fixed codes as in the 19th century; and hence silent intrusions of new influences through economic pressure, or violent modifications through political revolution, were matters of course. It need be recognised, therefore, that the vertical as well as horizontal mobility of the population was greater under feudal than modern conditions.

9. The rise into prominence of a certain caste through military prowess or political aggrandisement led to a certain system of social values, which was sure to have been transvalued with its overthrow by another. In this way the political and military history of *races* down to the 13th century must have repeated itself in that of *castes* since then.

10. The consequence of changes in political and military history has been what may be described as a regular "convection-current" throughout the socio-economic system, making the elevation and depression of castes exactly parallel to that of races—the leading classes of one age being the depressed classes of another, and so on. The race-history and class-history have been affected in the same way all the world over by the history of warfare.

11. In each case of socio-economic transformation brought about by military-political revolutions the new orders have tried to preserve the old "legal fiction" by affiliating themselves to the traditional orders. The dynamic principle of 'progress' has thus been in operation in each synthesis, though the static principle of 'order' has never been lost sight of. The student of Caste-history should recognise these successive syntheses as the milestones of Indian social evolution.

12. The economic aspect of the castes as occupational grades, and the auxiliary religious aspect which ultimately implies only the guardianship of the Brahman caste in theological matters, must be regarded as an appendix, rather than as a prelude, to the political-cum-military treatment of the subject.

13. To understand the caste-system historically it has to be clearly realised that there was no *Pax Britannica* in

